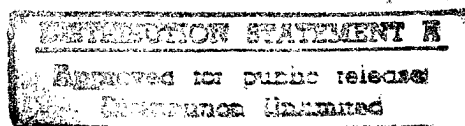


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25 NOVEMBER 1986

# Sub-Saharan Africa Report



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25 NOVEMBER 1986

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## ANGOLA

### LISBON CORRESPONDENT VISITS UNITA CAMP, INTERVIEWS SAVIMBI

#### Action at Front

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 26 Sep 86 pp 4-8

[Article by Antonio Duarte]

[Text] "Battery! Mission accomplished! Target neutralized! Excellent engagement! End of mission! Cease fire!"

On a plateau bordering one of the banks of the Cuito River, Brigadier General Ben, one of the most talked-of officers in UNITA territory, had just called an end to a new bombardment by the Angolan rebels against government positions on the Cuito-Cuanavale front, in northern Kuando-Kubango Province.

Twenty mortar shells, highly explosive, had traveled 3.5 kilometers on an arcing path, in two directions: the camp of the 25th Brigade (with Soviet personnel, according to Brigadier Ben); and the airfield at Cuito-Cuanavale (the second most important location in Kuando-Kubango Province).

The bombardment lasted 2 hours, from 1630 hours until sunset. All along the firing line, UNITA soldiers had dug trenches in the sandy ground. This time, however, they would not be used; there was no responding fire from Cuito-Cuanavale.

#### Meaning of Silence

At the end of the attack, I noted an obvious relaxation among the UNITA soldiers, as if they were convinced that any response from Cuito was unlikely.

It was time to dismantle the mortars and load them in the Ural trucks (captured from the Soviets) and the Land Rover jeeps, and to hide the antitank guns (in a metal structure which bore the inscription "Zaire").

Before we mounted the back of a Mercedes truck, with right-hand drive, which would return us to the UNITA command post, 16 kilometers northeast of Cuito-Cuanavale, Lieutenant Sousa, who had been accompanying us since Jamba, had been telling me anecdotes about Juca Chaves.



In the back of the Mercedes, cook Paulo, a cheerful man of few words, was emptying a sack of enamel cups and passing around orange juice (prepared from a concentrate "made in Johannesburg").

"I don't understand," I say to Lt Sousa, "why all this calm? Is this the Cuito-Cuanavale war?"

Sousa finished telling the last anecdote and attempted to explain: "They are weak; the enemy can only respond with BM-21s ('orgaos de Staline'), which can't hit targets at less than 6 kilometers...."

"They Want to Push Us into Conventional Warfare."

Night Fell. In front of me, in the back of the Mercedes, is seated Captain Jaime, one of the 65 survivors of the "long march," on foot, led by Jonas Savimbi in 1975, out of the ashes of UNITA's military defeat in Luanda, the march which took Agostinho Neto's adversaries to the "Lands at the End of the Earth," in southern Angola.

Capt Jaime had also accompanied us since Jamba, as the officer responsible for the security and the success of the journalistic expedition to the front: an O JORNAL reporter and two French newsmen, one from LE POINT and the other from the "Keystone" agency, on assignment for TIME magazine.

Some 15 days earlier, Capt Jaime had been in the same locale with a North American television crew (NBC) and a news photographer from PARIS MATCH. "It was very different then. The enemy responded. The jungle was in flames."

The newsmen had reported this to us on our arrival in Jamba, as we were leaving for the front. "So why all this silence, captain? If Cuito-Cuanavale is weakened, why doesn't UNITA go in and take it?"

The captain replied, in excellent English: "The enemy wants us to take Cuito-Cuanavale. They want to push us into conventional warfare, because they know we do not have enough weapons and men. If we took Cuito, they would suffer even more casualties, but later they would counterattack and wipe us out, taking an objective: a city. Now, more than ever, we have to be like the bees: going and coming, goading, buzzing, tiring them out, stinging them. And this demoralizes them."

Message Intercepted: "Bad Situation"

When I reached the UNITA command post, at about 2300 hours, Capt Jaime received a coded message on a slip of paper. He read it attentively and then handed it to Lt Sousa.

"We have succeeded in intercepting enemy radio communications regarding the attack this afternoon," the captain reported calmly. He translated the first communication for me.

"It is a conversation between commanders. It says: 'State minister of security. Report from Cuito to Menongue. The security minister in Cuito informs the security minister in Menongue that the enemy is at this moment bombarding my position. The fire is coming from the other side of the river in the direction of the 25th Brigade. The situation is bad.' Menongue replies: 'OK.'"

The captain continues to decode the messages attributed to the government forces. "From the forward command post of Cuito to the 25th Brigade: 'Info situation in your position.' The 25th Brigade replies: 'The shelling is still going on.' Again, the forward command post of Cuito: 'The shells are even reaching my position here. Take every precaution to avoid destruction of the tanks and BM-21s, if there is a fire.'"

Other information intercepted by the listening service of the FALA (Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, as the UNITA political-military superstructure is known) refers to communications between the forward command post of Cuito-Cuanavale and the operation center at Menongue, capital of Kuando-Kubango Province, one of the most important centers of the FAPLA (Peoples' Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, the government forces) and the Soviet-Cuban forces in southern Angola.

"Kwacha 120"

For the UNITA, Menongue is a historic symbol: until the colonial military expansion in Angola, it was the capital of the "Kings of the Southeast," a territory which today corresponds practically to a geographic area of one-third of the Angolan territory that UNITA refers to as "free lands of Angola."

Capt Jaime continues: "The first conversation that we heard was between the forward command post of Cuito and the commander of the 25th Brigade, and all of this is subordinated to Menongue. The last messages intercepted are from the Cuito forward post to Menongue. 'The situation is bad right now, because the enemy is shelling my position. There are also shells going out toward the position of the 25th Brigade.' Menongue replies: 'Info type of weapon enemy is using.' The command post reports that they are '100mm's.' Menongue signs off with 'OK.'"

Here Capt Jaime is suddenly indignant, tossing aside the paper with the messages in a sign of displeasure. "These people don't know anything about weapons. We don't have these '100mm' cannons. We use a more sophisticated weapon which usually creates fear and even panic in the enemy, because, really, it is effective: 120mm shells, motor-powered...."

I interrupt him: "Manufactured by...?"

He smiles and replies pointedly: "It is the Kwacha 120. Made by UNITA."

Who Spoke of "Stingers"?

Destructive shells on the Cuito-Cuanavale front. Markings in English. Origin "unknown." Also "unknown" is the location and "existence" of the famous

"Stinger" missiles which President Reagan offered to Jonas Savimbi after the UNITA leader visited the White House and within the program of military aid to the Angolan rebels, unblocked at the beginning of this year by the Republican congressmen.

During an interview in Jamba, Dr Savimbi would later tell me jokingly: "We do not admit that we have the 'Stinger' and we are also not admitting that we don't have the 'Stinger' (he smiles). It is a riddle we will never solve. Even if those who deliver the 'Stinger' decide one day to affirm that they have delivered the 'Stinger.' They are the ones who will say it. Not us."

I sensed in Savimbi the same self-confidence that I had already noticed in the FALA officers on the Cuito front.

Something has changed, militarily, for UNITA in the last 2 months. "We are much more optimistic this year, despite greater involvement by the Cubans in Angola," I was told by young Brigadier General Wambu, who coordinates military intelligence for UNITA.

The noisy attack on Cuito-Cuanavale was on 9 August, with heavy shelling by the C-120. The engagement lasted for 12 days. There were almost 200 casualties on the side of the besieged and a few more than 40 casualties were reported by the UNITA apparatus.

On 12 August, according to Brig Gen Wambu, 12 FAPLA radars were destroyed and on 13 August the activity intensified with the shelling of the airport.

An accusation hung over UNITA, from Futungo de Pelas. Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos claimed that the rebels were receiving assistance from Pretorian jets and from South African mercenaries.

As he told us, Savimbi challenges any observer, or newsman, "to come up with any trace, any indication, of South African participation in the bombardment of Cuito-Cuanavale." According to Savimbi, he himself challenged President dos Santos to publicly present four South Africans whom the FAPLA said had been captured in the battle of Cuito. "He did not produce anyone," Savimbi declared triumphantly.

On the second day at the Cuito-Cuanavale front, I tried to get a better understanding of the purpose of the shelling by the FALA--and to find evidence, "at the front," of South African "collaboration."

#### South Africa Taboo

For UNITA officers, the question of South Africa is taboo. They know that any journalist who enters Angola by the UNITA "door" will always try to discover traces, indications, witnesses, details, confirming South African military aid or participation in Angolan territory.

Capt Jaime complained: "We are annoyed that they take us for South African forces. South Africa is an obsession among the journalists who visit us. I

know that you are going to write later that even the wine, the beer, the coca cola, the toilet paper, is South African. Because they are. We buy them from the South Africans. Yes (sarcastically), we do business with them: we sell them ivory, diamonds, wood...."

I was beginning to feel at home in the back of the South African Mercedes (brand new, with foam rubber cushions to absorb the shocks), which took us back to the battle front.

But this time we had a different purpose: the three correspondents had asked Brig Gen Ben if they could accompany a FALA patrol close to the lines of the government forces and to witness the day's shelling from a point closer to the target.

"From Here to Front on Foot"

We headed for UNITA's "observation post," from which the rebels communicate corrections in the trajectories and the results obtained back to the lines of attack.

This time, we went around the southern slope of the Cuito plateau, to a point where the trucks were stopped.

"From here to the front, we go on foot," Capt Jaime announced. "It's not safe to go by truck."

It was 1400 hours on Monday, 1 September. A scorching heat. The sun at its zenith. Dry, very dry air. We were going up the southwestern slope of the plateau, marching along a sandy path.

Ahead of us lay dense jungle. Always uphill. We had to keep up the pace; the attack was scheduled for 1630 hours and we had to reach the "observation post" before then.

A brief halt on a rise allowed us to see, with binoculars, part of the city of Cuito-Cuanavale, the peaceful curve of the Cuito River and, even better, the landing field, which was out of operation after being shelled by UNITA several times since the battle of 9 August.

We had barely resumed the march when Capt. Jaime called our attention to a noise, very distant at first and then much closer, in the air over Cuito. "From the sound, it is a Russian Antonov.... Keep marching."

Now the plane could be seen perfectly, flying at a safe altitude, beyond the reach of the UNITA antiaircraft, but directly above its trajectory.

Several hours later, Brig Gen Ben told me "it was an Antonov 33 and it was on a reconnaissance mission, at 5,000 meters, to photograph our area of operations. Later he tells the MiGs our positions and developments in the terrain. From that altitude, he can take excellent pictures."

From a Treetop

It was precisely 1630 hours when, from the top of an enormous tree (UNITA's "observation post"), I heard the first explosion and saw, very clearly, the detonation. These are the fire-correction shells.

Beside me, perched on another high branch, was a radio operator who was relaying information from another soldier who was even higher up, his eyes glued to powerful binoculars.

"Azimuth here, azimuth there, charlie-papa, mike, repeat...." It is the dance of the numbers, the codes, the noms de guerre--the voices coming from the UNITA radios.

The rhythm of the shelling accelerated. Some type of vehicle was moving close to the explosions. It disappeared.

Then I heard the "howl" of the Kwasha C-120's. MiGs appeared in the sky. The jet propulsion motor increases the speed of impact and the destructive capability of the shells.

Now the radio operator was saying only: "Correct! Correct! Correct." He was excited about the precision of the fire.

By Heart

One of the officers on the Cuito front told me it was time to go back.

"Night is coming and we can't light a fire close to the enemy lines. Without light, we could get lost...or meet up with something bad," joked Capt Jaime.

Part of the FALA patrol was going to spend the night at the "observation post" and would be relieved at dawn, since the men had nothing but a few drops of water in their canteens and mess cups.

On the return trip, we did not even have that. The newsmen were already tired and weak. We had not eaten any lunch and the water had been used up on the way there

Darkness fell quickly. The march continued. I could only see indistinct shapes following a path that was not very clear in the dense jungle, as if they knew the track by heart.

The transport trucks were in the location agreed upon, at the hour communicated by radio, to "fish us out" at a secure spot.

Exhausted, I climbed into the back of the Mercedes and there was Paulo, the cook, handing out the new "order" of orange juice. At that moment, it seemed to me like the best drink in the world.

It was 2000 hours. The trucks carried us to the UNITA command post again: a trip of almost 3 hours.

When we arrived, I asked Capt Jaime if he wasn't tired from the day's march. He smiled back: "No, it was nothing. I'm used to it. A 30-kilometer march is nothing."

A 30-kilometer, march, "against the clock," on sandy terrain. The young soldiers of UNITA do it routinely, without batting an eye, with weapons on their backs and an imperturbable air, motivated by the promise of an Angolan "paradise," without Cubans and without Soviets.

It was the third day at the Cuito-Cuanavale front, the day we were to return to Jamba. At 0800 hours sharp, there was a "briefing" with Brig Gen Ben, in the "n'jango" (a thatched hut which occupies the central space of a small African settlement and serves as a common room), partly walled.

"We intercepted more enemy messages during yesterday's attack. They talked about the destruction of a truck which transports FM-21s, an 'orgao de Staline' and a 23mm antiaircraft cannon. They also reported 8 wounded. If there were any dead, they never mentioned them in the radio communications."

Brig Gen Ben was of the opinion that the government troops stationed at Cuito had neither the materiel nor sufficient manpower to respond to the UNITA attacks.

According to the UNITA officer, while we were at the front, the Luanda troops had two brigades (one with 213 and the other with 12 [sic] men) in the city of Cuito-Cuanavale, as well as an encampment of Soviets and Cubans (tanks and infantry) and 8 FAPLA battalions, with 450 men each.

Regarding armament, Brig Gen Ben reported that the government forces have BM-21's ("orgaos de Staline") and BM-14s, 76mm cannons and between 10 and 15 tanks, "all of Soviet manufacture," in Cuito. Cuito-Cuanavale is also protected by the MiG 21s and MiG 23s, which take off from the Menongue airfield and frequently bomb UNITA positions. (I saw the remains of an MiG-21 near the front.)

The UNITA officers do not hide the fact that their principal fear, in the combat zones, is the tanks and the MiGs, but they say little about this now.

Brig Gen Ben told me: "This year we are better equipped. We have enough materiel and troop strength to deter them."

#### Truck Convoy Attacked

At the Cuito front, UNITA said that 65 percent of its war materiel had been captured from the government forces: a large "stock" of "Kalash" machineguns and AK-47s, 76mm and SAM-7 cannons, as well as transport vehicles. And then the "new" materiel: the awesome C-120s, the antitank guns and antiaircraft--the ground-to-air missiles.

The lighter materiel will be used in guerrilla actions. In this area, UNITA is like "fish in the water." Brig Gen Ben says:

'A convoy of 137 trucks is traveling from Menongue to Cuito-Cuanavale, with the 16th Brigade. We think it is going there to rebuild the Cuito airfield and to supply food to the city. The convoy is escorted by three MiGs. The enemy suspects that we have the South African Air Force with us."

And then, with undisguised pride: "The UNITA guerrillas attacked this convoy on 31 September, between Longa and Luassanga. The enemy lost 6 men, 18 men were wounded and 3 trucks were destroyed (one carrying food, a water truck, and one carrying materials). We had only two battalions in the area. It is impossible to wipe out the whole convoy, which is, clearly, a resupply column. Other enemy forces are stationed near the bridge which we destroyed, in Longa, and they are trying to set up a movable bridge."

The destruction of the bridge at Longa, the constant rebel ambushes and the danger of mines have made the Menongue-Cuito road, 210 kilometers long, almost impassible. The situation in the Menongue-Cuito corridor forces the government troops to take winding, lengthy and risky routes whenever they try to bring more supplies to Cuito-Cuanavale.

#### Menongue Corridor: Safety Valve

According to Savimbi's officers, the Menongue-Cuito corridor was formed in successive "attempts by the government forces to retake the town of Mavinga, which was captured by UNITA in 1981," in a "strategy of military advance" to the southeast: the "domain" of Jamba, the "provisional capital" of the UNITA.

It is about 700 kilometers from Jamba (an Umbundo word meaning "elephant," "powerful force," "weight") to the Cuito-Cuanavale front, over sharply winding paths and trails, passing through FALA control posts and patrols, rivers and settlements, from the "Lands at the End of the Earth"--as the Portuguese called the extensive hunting reserve, from the Namibian border to the game preserves of Mavinga--to the grassy plains and fertile lands in the center and north of Kuando-Kubango Province, where UNITA has organized agricultural ventures and has offered land to small peasant farmers.

According to Capt Jaime, the support which UNITA receives from the Angolan peasants is one of the "secrets" of the advance of Savimbi's forces in FAPLA territory.

#### No Military Solution

Brig Gen Ben told me: "What we are attempting is to prevent [the enemy] from organizing. Time is in our favor. We are about to enter the rainy season, which favors guerrilla techniques and enables us to strengthen our positions. We are already sending out guerrilla forces to set up ambushes on the roads to Menongue, Uige and Huambo. Our strategic goal is to encircle and control them, so as to weaken them. At this time, our strategy is defensive and any offensive action is only meant to weaken the enemy."

Thus there are two types of warfare on the same front: conventional warfare and guerrilla warfare--with no military solution in sight. UNITA wages conventional warfare on two defensive fronts--Cuito-Cuanavale and Cazombo (the Cazombo salient, Moxico Province)--to secure the territory controlled by the rebels. There is also an extensive front, from Munhango to the north and northeast (Moxico and Bie provinces and into Malange). This is guerrilla warfare, by sabotage, ambushes and attacks in the cities.

#### Situation in the Cities

It was Jonas Savimbi who, in an opening address to the recent Sixth UNITA Congress, emphasized the status of guerrilla and political action by the rebels in the principal Angolan cities.

He began by criticizing the clandestine UNITA structure in Luanda, which was uncovered and dismantled, after arrests and some executions. Then he gave the "good" news:

"In Huambo Province, UNITA acts by day and by night and whenever we wish. In the city of Moxico, which the MPLA calls Luena, we act at will. We now have information about the 1st Brigade--we captured a FAPLA first lieutenant. In the city of Bie (erroneously called Kuito, because of the influence of the Soviet "K"), our men penetrate whenever they please. A week ago, we destroyed the television and radio towers without suffering even a scratch. In Cabinda, we went into the city and destroyed the MPLA commissariat. In Cabinda, we asked the FLEC (Front for the Liberation of Cabinda Enclave) to cooperate with UNITA against the common enemy, since FLEC does not have the military capacity for independence. Because it is a very rich territory, Cabinda could not resist the ambitions of certain neighbors, except by remaining an integral part of Angola. In sum, if we are successful in these cities, why not in others? It is because of the UNITA cadres which operate in them."

#### In Cabinda since July 1985

At a meeting in Jamba, during which he showed us cellophane maps, in color, in retroprojection, Brig Gen Wambu, UNITA chief of military intelligence, confirmed that the rebels "have been in Cabinda Province since July 1985," and "this is only possible with the support of the population, which supplies food to the guerrillas."

Brig Gen Wambu said: "We have an advantage in guerrilla warfare, in that the enemy can never rest easy."

The devastating effect of guerrilla warfare: most of the dams in Angola are out of operation (according to Brig Gen Ben, the Mabubas dam supplies power to Luanda and is virtually nonfunctioning); the Benguela Railroad is shut down (except for the short stretch from Benguela to Ganda). According to Brig Gen Wambu, only about 10 percent of the country's paved roads are passable and, "even so, they are only traveled in military columns of about 200 vehicles, including 20 or 30 Cuban tanks."



UNITA official data indicate, at this time, a total of 45,000 Cuban men on Angolan territory, 10,000 of whom are technical advisors and 20,000 are combat troops (infantry).

Pointing to well designed maps and charts, obviously carefully organized, Brig Gen Wambu explains: "The MPLA troops consist of Cubans, Russians, East Germans and former Portuguese commandos who were in Angola during the colonial period and who have been recruited by Admiral Rosa Coutinho. On Angolan territory, in addition to the MPLA, there are also SWAPO and ANC guerrillas and former-Catangans (Zairians). These have been assigned to defense and try to poison Africa with the idea that there is no UNITA without South Africans.

#### Portuguese Mercenaries

Regarding the alleged Portuguese mercenaries in the ranks of government troops, Brig Gen Wambu supplied me with some more statistics: there are about 3,500 of these mercenaries and, according to his information, Portuguese Colonel Fernandes may be working directly with them.

Even so, Brig Gen Wambu does not seem very concerned about the Portuguese mercenaries who, as he himself told me, are distributed over all the provincial capitals. ("We attempted to capture some of them but, at the last minute, they left, disguised as cooperants....")

The big question mark for the UNITA officers inevitably has to do with the reinforcement of the Cuban troops in Angola. "How will the Cubans intervene this year? They could try to fool us...."

#### Zambia Connection

Attention and concern are now turned to the possibility that Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda will allow the Luanda government troops to have access to UNITA positions in southeastern Angola, via the border shared by the two countries.

For UNITA, with its 28,000 regular soldiers and 37,000 guerrillas, the imbalance is threatening and the prospect of responding to an attack through the "Zambian Connection" is somewhat demoralizing.

Seated in the "n'jango" of the UNITA forward post in Cuito-Cuanavale, Capt Jaime wanted to relax for a minute. He was optimistic: "Kaunda won't do it. He is afraid...."

However, sad news had shaken the captain, for the first time, with some intensity.

Brig Gen Wambu had come to see the correspondents off. In his hand, he was carrying a battery-operated short wave radio (the second most important weapon of the UNITA officers, always in use). He saw Capt Jaime and gave him an embrace, offering condolences. The captain's soccer team, the "Estrela

Negra," was beaten, 2 to 0, by the "Estrela Vermelha," in Jamba, on the Sunday when the Sixth UNITA Congress ended.

Two comrades in arms, two adversaries in soccer: Brig Gen Ben and Capt. Jaime both play the game and occupy the same position (midfield defense) in different terrain.

Today the captain is sad. "Estrela Negra" needed him. And it lost.

#### Interview with Savimbi

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 26 Sep 86 pp9-15

[Text of interview with UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi, by Antonio Duarte, in Jamba, Angola, date not given; first paragraph is O JORNAL introduction]

[Text] "If the UNITA students were expelled from Portugal, I, personally, would take a drastic stand against Portugal," warned Jonas Savimbi, in an exclusive interview granted to O JORNAL in Jamba, in southeastern Angola. The UNITA leader believes that Portugal has a "moral responsibility for what is happening in Angola" and suggests that our country could facilitate a settlement of the conflict, maintaining "contact with the warring parties." In the interview with O JORNAL, Savimbi revealed that "several EEC countries have direct contacts with UNITA today" and advocates that "the Americans intervene more forcefully in Angola," so that the Soviets "back off." Regarding the MPLA, "the patriots in the MPLA are not foreigners. They are Angolans, like us. We have enormous political differences, but we cannot leave our country."

O JORNAL: What has changed, in UNITA, since the Reagan-Savimbi meeting in Washington?

Savimbi: Many things have changed. UNITA now has better diplomatic prospects. We needed the support of a great power and now we think we have this support.

Question: UNITA says it is a socialist movement and advocates nonalignment. Isn't it a contradiction to have such a strong tie with a great capitalist power and NATO leader?

Answer: No. First we must correct you. We are no longer nonaligned. After the recent Sixth Congress we eliminated the slogan of nonalignment from our movement, not because of our relations with the United States, but simply because of nonalignment with Fidel Castro. Fidel Castro must be the most closely aligned individual around, who always carries out the missions of the Russians. Qadhafi is nonaligned and he performs missions for international terrorism. So we think that the original spirit of nonalignment--the spirit of Nasser, of Nehru, of Tito--is dead. Soviet agents have infiltrated the nonaligned movement. So we who are warring against Soviet expansionism cannot accept this slogan of nonalignment.

Question: Then, at this moment the UNITA is a movement aligned with the United States?

Answer: No. Because there is no one left who is not aligned. How can you see Fidel Castro as nonaligned? Fidel Castro can't be nonaligned. (Again) Fidel Castro can't be nonaligned. The nonaligned movement has lost its impact and its meaning. So it is not UNITA which stopped being nonaligned, it is the non-aligned movement which stopped being nonaligned. I think this is the best definition we have.

Question: And the concept of socialism?

Answer: We are socialists, but democratic socialists. In the beginning, the African people lived in community. Therefore, the African people may be called upon to make a joint effort without asking for any wage or compensation in return. As you can see, the UNITA armed forces are not earning anything. Even before the Portuguese colonization, during it and after it, the villagers have gotten together, to build a road, a bridge, to work for the common welfare, without asking for pay. We can appeal to our people at a given moment in our history, to work together for nothing. It is the sense of a joint effort, a socialist sentiment. At the same time, we say we are democratic socialists, because we don't want people to give up their individuality, to belong to the machinery of the state, the machinery of the party. Therefore, we combine socialism and democracy.

Convince Americans and the EEC

Question: Does this justify the preferential relations with the United States?

Answer: There are no preferential relations, because this took a very great effort. To persuade the Americans to aid UNITA took a very great effort. You must even remember that since 1975 the Americans have given more aid to the FNLA than to UNITA.

Question: CIA aid....

Answer: Well, whether it was from the CIA or not, at that time it was only passing support. For UNITA it was support in passing. The real aid was going to the FNLA. From 1976 to now is a long time. It took us 10 years to convince the Americans that they should help us. And it took more than a lot of words. It took a lot of action. When the Americans were convinced that UNITA was a significant force in the combat against the Cubans in Angola, that was when they decided to help us. We think, therefore, that the aid which we are receiving today from the Americans is not based on philosophy--it is the result of our own action.

Question: This aid is linked to the Republican Party, specifically to President Reagan. Reagan will be succeeded by another president, perhaps a Democrat. What will happen to UNITA then?

Answer: In fact, the Sixth UNITA Congress discussed this possibility. We do not believe that the next president of the United States, even if he is a Republican, will be as convinced of the rightness of our cause as

President Reagan is. UNITA and its people must take this factor into account. They observe: this is 1986; we have until 1988.

Question: Does this mean arranging for enough reserves of war material to see you through the "lean years"?

Answer: Maybe not stocks of materiel, but reserves of the stuff of action--reserves of morale. People must reach what I would call a point of no return. UNITA must win irreversible victories, at home and abroad.

Question: Such as...?

Answer: Diplomatic, military, economic, political...we must win irreversible victories; whoever comes to occupy the White House, the struggle must be a factor that no one can ignore. And, in 2 years, if UNITA cannot accomplish that--with the facilities it has today, with the mobilizing capacity it enjoys--it will have lost its chance.

Question: The European Common Market countries do not officially support UNITA. Why do you think this is?

Answer: They do not officially support UNITA, but they are not opposed to it, either. It is a question of time. Petroleum has lost the attraction it once had, it is no longer a lure. It is not the same thing today. So I think that many EEC countries, if they are not reconsidering their relations with the Luanda government, even so may already be seeing that the only alternative is not to deal with Luanda alone but also with UNITA. And without being indiscreet, I can say that several EEC countries are already maintaining direct contacts with UNITA.

Question: Which ones?

Answer: I can't say, but this is the truth. It is said, and not in any negative sense, that the EEC thinks with France and acts with German money. If this is true, UNITA has contacts in these two countries.

Question: The EEC did not look favorably on your presence at the inauguration of President Pieter Botha. And then declaring that UNITA is against "apartheid."

Answer: I don't know if they looked unfavorably on it...because I was even congratulated by certain African chiefs of state for having had the courage to do it.

Question: Which chiefs of state?

Answer: Well, I can't answer that. But we are against apartheid and have always been against it. I think it is necessary to convince the South Africans that they are on the wrong path. They are on the wrong path. Times have changed. But I think it is very hypocritical, for example, for President Machel to have signed the N'Komati accord, all dressed up in his marshal's

uniform, with President Botha, and for insulting President Botha again, when the port of Maputo depends of South African investments, when Mozambique sends African workers to the South African mines. UNITA does not do this. We have received proposals in the past and have said we will never do this. UNITA does not send African workers to South Africa's mines. When someone proposed to us --it was to our secretary general--that we send 20,000 Angolans to work in the Rand mines, we said: "Never!" But Machel takes money. He lives off the money that his men, who are sent out as hired laborers, send back to Maputo, the capital. I think there is a good deal of contradiction here.

Question: But it was South Africa that didn't respect the N'Komati accord.

Answer: But, after all, why did President Machel sign the agreement? He is against "apartheid." So why did he make an agreement with the "apartheid" regime ?

Question: To prevent the advance of RENAMO. The same way that UNITA seeks an accord with the MPLA....

Answer: Absolutely not. To dialogue with the MPLA is to dialogue with patriots. The patriots of the MPLA are not foreigners. They are Angolans, like us. We have enormous political differences, but we cannot give up on our country. Whereas, when Machel deliberately signs the N'Komati accord, he knows exactly what he is doing. Even so, I don't condemn him, even though he went and signed the N'Komati accord. Why is it that, later, he wanted N'Komati to be upheld? He did not have the courage to renounce it last year. After a year, we thought: "He is going to renounce it." But he wants N'Komati to be upheld, at the same time as he insults the South Africans, as he is dependent on the South Africans, as he sends workers to South Africa. I have just finished reading in some dispatches that President Houphouet-Boigny, of the Ivory Coast, says the African countries will not be respected for making a bigger outcry, but they will be respected if they make their own effort as nations to make foreign countries respect them. Not by complaining in Harare with empty pockets, right? So, if I went to President Botha's inauguration, it is because UNITA wants to have an influence over him. I, as a black, cannot say it is a good thing to discriminate against blacks. But I can say to him: "This is wrong, you don't [sic] have another path."

Question: Did you say this to President Botha?

Answer: Not just once; several times. I can tell you that he has already visited Jamba several times. But when he visits Jamba he is not received here by any white. Everyone he meets here is black. When he stays here for 2, 3, or 4 days, he does not bring any security with him, just the UNITA security. So what we want first is to end the racism, in its intellectual form. It is conditioning, isn't it? What we want is to do away with this conditioning. Men should not be classified according to their skin color, but according to their ability. And where does this ability come from? From equal opportunity. We debate with President Botha as equal to equal. We point out the errors. I was one of those who told President Botha that he should not have created a Chamber for the coloreds, a Chamber for the Indians and not a

Chamber for the blacks. I told him, if he had appealed to the blacks at that time, there would have been blacks who would have consented to enter the Chamber. But I also warned him: "After a year or two, no one is going to agree to it." Today he has problems getting blacks to enter the Chamber, right? So I think we have to maintain some influence over South Africa, because South Africa has a predominant presence in southern Africa. Every individual, from Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, everyone is dependent on the economy of South Africa. For us to create an influence to bend--if we can--the policy of South Africa, this is not a bad thing. This is our objective.

UNITA Different from RENAMO

Question: Does UNITA have contacts with RENAMO, or did it have at any time?

Answer: No, never. We never have had and we have no intention of having relations with RENAMO. We think that, in Mozambique, it was only FRELIMO which struggled for independence. The Portuguese Government, which was the colonial authority, legally transferred the power to FRELIMO. And if RENAMO appeared, it appeared on other orders that we cannot answer for, that we cannot explain. UNITA is a movement which is recognized, legitimately, by Portugal and presents a great difference from RENAMO, in its very acceptance as a political movement.

Question: So you want to have good relations with FRELIMO.

Answer: We want to have good relations with everyone who wants to have good relations with us. Everyone.

Questions: Do you know that Professor Aquino de Braganca, advisor to President Samora Machel, has written a book about you?

Answer: I haven't seen it. Have you read it?

Question: Not yet. But I have heard that it is a critical book. Did you expect this from him?

Answer: Critical, how? You could even expect something critical from him....

Question: Do you know him well?

Answer: Very well. We went together to Bombay to ask Nehru to take Goa. He is aligned with the MPLA, but I have already seen statements by him about me in some Portuguese newspapers which were not so critical as I had expected. That is, I was expecting that he would be more critical of me.

Question: In the Western world, UNITA is generally supported by political forces on the Right and has a West-oriented image. Meanwhile, the society which UNITA has created in Angola appears communist to me. Do you agree that this is contradictory?

Answer: (Laughing) It is not communism. Not communism. First of all, let me say that I don't believe in communism....

Question.: But let us say that this is not the communism of the Eastern bloc countries.

Answer: Yes, but I am telling you this right away so I can speak more freely. I want to tell you what I believe. If I were to tell you everything that I don't believe in...it might be more destructive. We have here a political, economic and military way of life that conditions have imposed on us. To survive, we had to mobilize our people to work. And to work without pay, to work for the common good. People think this is very strange. In the second place, we have to make an effort so we won't disappear and if we start with the idiosyncrasies of this or that individual, with differentiation, the result is that UNITA will be weak and will not be able to face up to the Russians and Cubans.

Your words remind me of those of a Protestant missionary who spent a long time in Angola. His name was Henderson. He wanted to tell me that this was the communism that Jesus Christ preached. What we have here is a form of survival. If we permit cleavages, our people will be weak. This mobilization has enabled us to get through 10 years. In any event, this system is not so rigid, either. For example, in the area of agriculture, we permit the existence of farms--they are called plantations--which belong to the army and to the party, but we also have farms which belong to individuals; that is, private land. We don't want individuals to become just instruments of struggle. Sure we want them to take part in the struggle--this is what we have in common, what brings us together--but we also want people to have their private life. Even in our rallies, in our lessons, we want to make it clear that this is a temporary situation. As soon as the country is free, everyone will return to his own life and will develop his own activity according to his ability.

#### Lessons of Mao-Tse-Tung

Question: Another aspect: the organization and, let us say, the military aesthetic appear to me to be Maoist....

Answer: We are always being accused of something. So we have become reticent. When UNITA was created, it was because we wanted to fight against the Portuguese colonization. We had no one to train us. So we went to China. It was me, the secretary and a few others. At that time we were called Maoists. We were attacked by the Americans, by the Russians, by the neighboring countries. After Maoists, we were called PIDE [International Police for Defense of the State] agents. After that, we were with the CIA. Now we are called agents of South Africa. UNITA wants to have this ability to assimilate everything that is positive from the other people, but to keep the Angolan soul intact.

Question: What did Dr Savimbi assimilate from the Chinese?

Answer: I think that, in the technique of guerrilla warfare, there is no one better than the Chinese. People say that the best general to emerge in this era was Giap, but they forget that Giap was a student of Mao Tse-Tung. I think that the greatest general of modern times was Mao Tse-Tung, not Giap. It is just that Mao Tse-Tung never came into direct confrontation with the Americans. The difference in troop strength between Mao Tse-Tung and Chang Kai-shek was 1 to 10. But he was also an individual who succeeded in changing the situation of China. So what we think we can keep from China, we will keep. Many people had the bad luck not to have known the China of Mao Tse-Tung, to be able to compare it with the China of Deng Xiaoping. The Chinese never taught us that we had to apply what we had seen there in Angola. These are the only people I have seen--the only people, I repeat--who say: "Go home, but don't do what we do here." China is different. It has a much larger population; the population of Angola could represent only one commune in China. The Chinese are the only ones I have seen proceed this way. I tell you, the only ones. Even if we compare them to the Americans, the French, the South Africans. They are the only people who never said to us: "Do it this way." They said: "We will teach you, but you will apply that teaching in your territory, among your people, according to your own circumstances." They have this kind of humility. All the others are accustomed to think they know best. Not Mao Tse-Tung's Chinese.

Question: Are the Chinese supporting you at this time?

Answer: Well, I can say that they are not against us.

Question: Would you like their support?

Answer: They could help. The circumstances are different. The Chinese have recognized the MPLA government, but this does not mean they are satisfied with the Luanda regime.

#### "Stinger" Missiles

Question: UNITA's dependence on South Africa is notorious. Are you inclined to maintain it?

Answer: Not notorious....

Question: From the standpoint of logistics, infrastructures, supplies....

Answer: Well, in addition to our very frank criticism of apartheid, perhaps UNITA has another merit with regard to South Africa. The South Africans tried to impose their advisors on us and we said no. We are the only ones here who have no advisors; neither an American advisor nor a South African advisor. UNITA likes it this way. Why do people have the type of preconception that I read in an English newspaper--I think it was in The DAILY TELEGRAPH, or was it the GUARDIAN? If it is the GUARDIAN, it is liberal, If it is the TELEGRAPH, it is conservative. They said that the Angolans of UNITA could not utilize the "Stinger." In other words, the Angolan is not intelligent enough



for the Stinger. Why does the world have this negative idea of the intellectual capacity of the Africans? I will explain....

Question: Is it racism?

Answer: No. I don't say racism. It is just that the Africans don't try to do anything by themselves. They always go around with their hand stretched out. So they don't have the courage to say: "If you don't want to give it to us, then don't." We said to the South Africans: "You want to send a colonel here to watch over how we use the weapons, then get out." And they went away. They left. But they have continued to help us. I am an admirer of General de Gaulle. Gen de Gaulle said much that was true of the Americans when he needed them. I also learned one thing from other chiefs of state: freedom without dignity is not freedom. Anyone who wants us to be free recognizes our human dignity. If they send me a Stinger, I may be too old to learn, but we have young people here who are going to learn to master the Stinger technology, isn't that so? So when the African countries constantly accept this subservience, not only material but mental, they give up the freedom for which they have been struggling for so many years. This is why we are not totally dependent on South Africa. We are not. The South African comes here and we talk. Is there a common interest? We ask and they deliver. If there is no common interest, they don't deliver. They are free. The money belongs to the South Africans. It is not ours. But the will to fight is ours; it does not belong to the South Africans.

Question: Following up on what you said, Dr Savimbi, has the Stinger given you good results?

Answer: Well, this is another problem. We do not admit that we have the Stinger here and we are also not admitting that we don't have the Stinger. (He smiles.) It is a riddle that we will never solve.

Question: That's true. None of your officers will "unravel" it?

Answer: No officer is going to admit that he has the Stinger, but no officer is going to say he doesn't have it. There is almost no way out of the problem, until those who deliver the Stingers decide one day to say that they have delivered the Stingers. They are the ones who will have to say it. We won't.

The "Spaniards"

Question: How did the South Africans view your meeting with President Reagan?

Answer: Well, first of all, we don't ask anyone's permission....

Question: Yes, but you must have some knowledge about Pretoria's reaction.

Answer: Just as we didn't ask the South Africans for permission to go to the United States, we didn't have to give them an explanation. But I think that any intelligent observer saw that our visit to the United States was a big success. It had an enormous impact on the country, an enormous impact in

Europe and in Africa. And it certainly had a huge impact on the South Africans. But we did not have to explain to the South Africans what we are doing.

Question: Did the Americans offer you more than the South Africans have already offered?

Answer: Well, I must say that it is not just the South Africans and the Americans here. There is Saudi Arabia, the Moroccans, other countries which are helping us. We think that UNITA must earn the aid. We should not become accustomed to receiving aid. We should earn it. Anyone who believes that our battle against the Cuban Spaniards has some value, that individual can help us. Some help us more, because they have more; others give us less aid, because they have less to give. But even if it's only a scholarship for a student, it will be helpful to us.

Question: Are you aware that the American Government's support to UNITA could turn the internal Angolan conflict into a conflict between great powers?

Answer: It is internationalized. UNITA's weakness, up to now, was that the Americans were not at our side. Because the MPLA put the Cubans--whom we are now calling the Spaniards....

Question: Why?

Answer: Because they are Spanish.

Question: You don't like the Spaniards?

Answer: The Spaniards of Cuba are racists. We, who attack the racism in South Africa, cannot refrain from attacking the Spanish racist, which is what Fidel Castro is. I know the history of Cuba, much better than he thinks. When I was in Switzerland, as a student, I followed Fidel Castro's revolution, with great passion.

Question: Dr Savimbi was a great admirer of Fidel Castro....

Answer: I had all his speeches. I met with Che Guevara. I know this man and I know how many blacks fought at his side, for Fidel Castro. Later, how many blacks did Fidel Castro place in the government? He only appointed one mulatto; Almeida. I know Costa Almeida. I know the history of Cuba. Castro is a racist. Well, if Cuba represents itself as a revolutionary movement, a revolutionary country, as it represented itself then, we could forgive certain aspects. But when it comes to Angola with the same leanings, we have to conclude: colonization always has negative features, but we cannot, in any way, say that the Portuguese people were racists, because this is a lie. It is a lie because you used to find a Portuguese merchant in the middle of the jungle, living with the Africans. Now the Cuban Spaniards are bringing racism here.

They are in no position to attack the South African racists. You have to be very familiar with the population in Cuba. Which is the larger percentage:

white Spaniards or blacks? The blacks! They have the larger percentage! And where are they? Castro is gaining the strength to try to do the same thing here in Angola. We cannot and will not accept this. This is why I call them the Spaniards from Cuba.

Question: Returning to the justice of the internationalization of the Angolan conflict....

Answer: The conflict is internationalized. As I said, UNITA's weak point was that we did not have the Americans behind us, whereas the MPLA had the Cubans; it had the Russians. By coming to Angola, the Russians internationalized the conflict. A small country--an African country. Why Cuba, why the Russians? Now that the Americans have come in, we have to take advantage of it. They say that where two elephants get into a fight, it is the grass that pays, right? But the grass of Angola has already been paying for many years. It is even necessary for the Americans to intervene in Angola and in greater force. It is not just a matter of giving us--or not giving us--the Stinger missile. America has to intervene, not only with greater force but also politically.

Question: Politically?

Answer: Politically, to say to the Russians that there is no reason for the two countries to confront each other in a small country like this, a country which must have 7 million inhabitants, at most. Why? Angola's strategic position does not justify a confrontation between the two great powers.

Question: But will there be a confrontation, as you see it?

Answer: No, I think not. If the Americans intervene more boldly, the Russians will back off. Because they cannot explain a confrontation between the two great powers in Angola. But if the Americans are timid, then the Russians will keep it up. I prefer the first option.

Question: According to recent reports, Zambia might allow the Cubans and Soviets to have access to UNITA positions in Angola, via the common border. This would have serious repercussions for UNITA, which would have to split up its combat fronts and it would certainly divert its attention from advancing toward the north. Do you agree, Dr Savimbi?

Answer: No, we don't want this. Nor is this in the interest of President Kaunda, who is grappling with a serious economic and political situation. It would not be a good thing for him. So I am more inclined to say that Kaunda would not do this. In any event, we are going to contact various African countries to see if they can dissuade President Kaunda from possibly authorizing the Cubans and the FAPLA to use his territory, because he has a lot to lose. So I am inclined to be optimistic. He will not do it. Because if he does, President Kaunda is going to have serious problems. Kaunda has never fought. He cries a lot. He cried so much that the English took pity on him and gave him independence. Even today, when he has serious problems, he cries and cries. But if he starts to fight, he can't cry. So I don't think he is

capable of making this decision. In the second place, despite the alliances that President Kaunda is now weaving together with the Soviets, we must remember that it was President Kaunda who called the Russians "tigers" and the Cubans "the sons of the tigers." So he is not an individual who is in agreement with the Soviet position inside Angola. I just think the West is not very consistent. So UNITA will not have three fronts: a northern front, a front to defend the free territory and another diversionary front, because of Kaunda. Frankly, we do not want to attack Kaunda. And if Kaunda allows them to attack us, he knows that it will have to be a quick operation. Sincerely, as I know Zambia like the palm of my hand, as I know the Zambian people and the relations between the Zambian people and UNITA, an operation of this kind would have the most serious and immediate repercussions for Kaunda. No one would stand for a prolonged border war between us and Kaunda. It would have to be a very rapid operation and be over quickly. There are no highways in the region and, starting in November, there is no contact between Lusaka and these border zones. Kaunda would lose a piece of territory.

How Many Cubans?

Question: Do you think that, in a situation like that, South Africa would immediately intervene in the region?

Answer: No, I think South Africa already has enough problems. They have their own problems. They should be encouraged to solve them and not to intervene again in independent African countries.

Question: Did, or did not, the South Africans take part in the attack on Cuito-Cuanavale on 9 August?

Answer: You were at Cuito-Cuanavale.

Question: I was there. Several days later....

Answer: I was there at the attack on Cuito, but my word is the word of a UNITA combatant. But you were there. What conclusions did you draw?

Question: I did not see any evidence of South African participation; but I also observed that the subject is taboo.

Answer: But the commanders are willing to discuss it. You certainly saw our troops, didn't you. If you saw our troops in action, you must have noticed that they were very different from that army of tanks that the MPLA talked about. You would have to have seen signs. Evidence.

Question: Well then, how is it explained that President Eduardo dos Santos has even talked about South African prisoners?

Answer: He is my countryman; otherwise I would say he is stupid. He said they had killed 95 South Africans and captured 4. On the same day, I held a press conference here in Jamba, during which I presented three FAPLA soldiers

captured in Cuito and I have challenged Eduardo dos Santos to present these four South Africans. He has not presented one. He had already been stupid once before. It is a shame, because he is my countryman. He said that Impala planes were bombing Cangamba. He said this in Brazzaville. Well, the Impala can't go as far as Cangamba. The conclusion of the experts: either UNITA finally has an area so well controlled that it can even have an asphalted airfield--because the Impala is a jet plane--where the fighters can land and refuel to attack Cangamba, or Eduardo dos Santos does not know what he is talking about. Sure, he changed his story the next day: "No, you didn't understand me." They were confusing the Impala with the Mirage. They are completely different planes. The same thing happened with the phony South African prisoners of Cuito-Cuanavale. He never showed them to the public. The people don't believe him. Don't you think this is sad?

Question: It is, at least, confusing. How is it that Fidel Castro can say in Harare that he has 20,000 Cuban soldiers in Angola and the president of UNITA maintains that there are 45,000? Whom do we believe?

Answer: There are 45,000. The MPLA's situation is critical. They may be arranging for the withdrawal of 20,000 Cubans, but if they take out 20,000, there will still be 25,000. Well, 25,000 makes a very big difference. When the Cubans came into Angola, they brought 12,000 men and it made a great difference in the balance of power. I think that Fidel Castro is under pressure, because of the economic situation in his country, and it is possible that the MPLA is preparing a kind of maneuver so they can say "we have 20,000 and, if these 20,000 are withdrawn, there won't be any left." But Fidel Castro and Eduardo dos Santos are not dealing with individuals who are asleep on the job. We have ways of knowing exactly how many Cubans are here: there are 45,000.

Question: How can you give such a precise figure, with so much assurance? Espionage?

Answer: Perhaps not espionage. Let us say, cooperation with other countrymen who are opposed to the Cuban presence. Because the Cubans are killing Angolans, too. Sometimes there is gunfire between the FAPLA and the Cubans. So it is not very difficult for us to know how many Cubans are in Angola.

Question: As parties to the Angolan conflict, do you accept the mediation, or even the participation, of the South Africans, Cubans and Soviets in the process of negotiating peace between the MPLA and UNITA?

Answer: Well, I don't think we would like that. We in UNITA would like the MPLA to leave its friends out of it. And we should do the same--and talk together as Angolans. If each side came with its "mentors," UNITA would not like it.

Question: In any event, they are active parties to the conflict.

Answer: Yes, but they are parties which should recognize that we are mature; it is up to the Angolans to talk over the conflict. The South African cannot

bring the conflict to an end, nor can the American, the Russian, the Cuban. So they should help to create this atmosphere of dialogue, but it should be the Angolans who do the talking.

Question: Is this, then, the only condition that UNITA imposes for a dialogue with the MPLA?

Answer: We have set no other condition. We just want the MPLA to make a statement, with the same courage that we have shown, that they are prepared to talk with us about ending the conflict.

Question: What results have come of the conversations that have already taken place between members of UNITA and the MPLA?

Answer: We cannot call them conversations. There have been contacts. There have been contacts between the two parties to feel out the ground, to learn each other's intentions. These contacts are continuing.

Portugal Also Responsible

Question: Do you think Portugal could play some role in the Angolan peace process?

Answer: We don't think we can exaggerate here. We want Portugal, first, to assume its full and historical role. Portugal was a colonial power and we signed the Alvor accords with Portugal--accords that have not been honored. There are several explanations: Portugal had experienced a revolution and I am going to accept all that. But Portugal is morally responsible for what is happening in Angola. If Portugal can maintain contacts with the parties in conflict, this is already good faith. In the conflict in southern Africa, the only former colonial power which knows the facts about the area is England. But England is not passing on the information about what is happening in Zimbabwe, in Zambia, in South Africa.

Question: Not passing it on to whom?

Answer: It is not giving it to the Americans. The English are cynics. With regard to Angola, Portugal knows all about what is going on here. Portugal knows the strength and the organization of the ethnic groups, it knows the geography; it knows all about Angola. So, by maintaining contact with the warring parties, Portugal could facilitate an understanding of the conflict. Because there are people who are not informed about the conflict: they think it is limited to the MPLA, UNITA, Russia, Cuba, South Africa, the United States. This is not so. The situation in Angola is much more complex; it has its own dynamic, and Portugal could help the interveners to understand what the conflict is all about. There, Portugal could be very useful. At the same time, Portugal should always bear in mind that it is also responsible for what is happening here. It is not responsible to the point of having to settle accounts with the Angolan people; it is responsible for having seen the tragedy happen; it knows Angola better, it could explain better what is happening in this country.

Question: How would you like the Portuguese authorities to behave toward the UNITA?

Answer: (In a severe tone) One thing I would not be at all willing to accept: if the UNITA students were expelled from Portugal, I, personally, would take a drastic stand against Portugal.

Question: What stand?

Answer: Honestly. I am an advocate of the dialogue with Portugal; even in the UNITA Central Committee, I am the one who defends Portugal the most, but if, one day, they expel my students, I want all my comrades expelled from Portugal. At that point it would be a very serious situation.

Question: Have you had contacts with Portuguese governments?

Answer: I don't have any. It is unnecessary. I have not even asked to have a UNITA representative in Portugal. You see, my demands are modest. I only speak up for the students. It would not be an intelligent thing for Portugal not to teach, in the Portuguese language, the young Angolans who, tomorrow, perhaps will not be in the UNITA, who may not be in the MPLA.

Question: But are there indications that this could happen?

Answer: They have already expelled two of my students!

Question: For bureaucratic reasons.

Answer: I don't know. In any event, they shouldn't be doing this, because it isn't nice! We are not asking anyone for scholarships. We are paying for our students' tuition with our money! Portugal is educating those who will be friends of the Portuguese, 10, 20 years from now, when Cavaco Silva is gone, when Mario Soares is gone. Isn't that so? Portugal is training future friends of the Portuguese. We wouldn't be politicians if we didn't understand this. It is just because there are a half-dozen individuals, like Mawete (the Angolan ambassador in Lisbon), who say very bad things to the Portuguese, who blackmail the government! I think this is sad.

Question: Do you think the present Portuguese Government is more "understanding" towards UNITA?

Answer: I don't know. Portugal should be thinking about the future. UNITA may be an obstacle, but so is the MPLA. Now let us move beyond UNITA and the MPLA; let us think about the future. The future of the Portuguese and the future of the Angolans, who speak the same language, as the common vehicle of thought and of culture. It is necessary to protect that heritage. It is more important than the present conflict, which is completely political in nature.

Question: Dr Savimbi, how did you manage to be in Portuguese territory last January without anyone (almost) being aware of it?

Answer: (Smiling) Well, I was not exactly in Portugal. I passed through some of your provinces, in transit.

Question: In the Azores. Lajes.

Answer: (Laughing) Well, I went there, but no one recognized me there, either.

Question: With the collusion of Portuguese officials?

Answer: No. There was no collusion. But I don't understand! I am a normal passenger. Why shouldn't I pass through Portugal. Even if I had gone to Lisbon, I wouldn't be committing any crime! I could even transit through Lisbon, even if it were known that Savimbi was going by way of Lisbon. I only carry the pistol with me here (he shows the Magnum, with the white butt, in its holster); out there, I am a normal, unarmed, human being. I can transit through Lisbon, directly to the United States. It is all right. Or is there something wrong with it?

Question: If you come to power, what type of relations do you hope to have with Portugal?

Answer: When I come to power, no. When peace returns to Angola and when the Angolans have reached an understanding, relations with Portugal have to be much better than they are now. I have watched the relations between Luanda and Lisbon. They are similar to the relations between Kinshasa and Brussels. This is not right. This is very bad. Neither the present nor the future government in Luanda can be neurotic about Lisbon. They must behave like brother countries. Now, the Luanda government's demands reflect a kind of complex. The Portuguese Government has laws which govern the Portuguese people. Angola will have its laws, which will govern the Angolan people. Each country must respect these laws. Now, to demand that the other country change its laws: this is too much! You must understand that these individuals are going much too far. They are even saying that Reagan should go to Luanda, that Reagan should beg its pardon. I don't think this is the kind of relationship you should have between countries which respect each other. Today, Portugal is a democratic country; it has an elected president and an elected government. Angola is not a democratic country. Even so, for reasons of expediency, there are diplomatic relations between Luanda and Lisbon. As if that weren't enough, now they [the Angolans] are demanding that so-and-so may not be permitted to speak. The MPLA are trying to make the law in Portugal. The Portuguese people cannot allow this, any more than the Angolan people can allow the Portuguese to make the laws in Angola again. I think these minimum standards of decency are necessary for the normalization of relations. Therefore, in a future government, elected by the Angolan people, one that represents the will of the Angolan people, we have to respect the Portuguese people and the Portuguese Government. And, in return, the Portuguese Government must respect the independence and sovereignty of the Angolan people.

Question: In a hierarchy of values, is Portugal behind or ahead of the United States?



Answer: I think that Portugal is always ahead, always! Because of the language. You see how we understand each other? We are reacting to the dialogue. Always! It is not a matter of money. It is not a matter of the F-15's. No. It is that it is easier to communicate. It will enable us to travel a long road together, a road that will also have to be built on mutual respect.

Question: Once UNITA is in Luanda, who can say that it will carry out its program, its good intentions??

Answer: We will carry them out. We are honest. We are people of our word. The suffering we have endured, and will still have to endure, has taught us that the world is not so small [sic]. You can't go around telling lies here, telling lies there, without paying the penalty. We cannot lie. We have to be men of our word, to be respected."

[Box, pp 12-13]

#### Savimbi, the Guerrilla Who Listens to Beethoven

The interview took place at sunset, with no appointment, in a building of the UNITA's military intelligence services in Jamba.

Savimbi's arrival was preceded by an "unloading" of soldiers who guard him. Some 10 minutes later, I heard a siren. A small company of powerful vehicles raised a cloud of dust on the streets of the city, stopping abruptly at the entrance of the building.

The UNITA leader stepped out of the third vehicle, a modern jeep of Japanese make, with right-hand drive. He smiled, looked rapidly all around him and strode forward. "Let's get to the interview, then."

#### Bitterness

Savimbi enjoys ritual. He was interviewed by O JORNAL in front of a small audience of officers and under the watchful eye of Miguel N'Zau Puna, secretary general of UNITA. They all took notes. Two of them tape-recorded the conversation.

Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, aged 52, was born in the town of Munhango, Moxico Province. He received a degree in Political Studies and Law from the University of Lausanne, Switzerland. He is president of UNITA, "supreme commander of the FALA," chief of a "state" within a state; he is one of the most vocal and controversial guerrillas in Africa.

Meanwhile, the "legend" of Savimbi has been written in "twisted lines"; accusations of collaboration with the PIDE and the CIA, of being the "strong-arm" of South Africa and the "lackey" of the North American imperialists.

All of which Savimbi tears apart with wit and vivacity and with an amoral political frankness.

He has become accustomed to hear anything and everything said about him ("we are always being accused of something"), but one thing he will not allow them to "distort"--and he says it with pride: he was the only nationalist leader who was in the Angolan jungle on 25 April 1974. Agostinho Neto was in Zambia and Holden Roberto was in Zaire.

One senses a certain bitterness in Savimbi when he talks about the years 1974 and 1975. They were not as he would have wished. He accuses the Portuguese Communist Party of having organized a "conspiracy" against UNITA and of having instigated the breakdown of the Alvor accords, which established an MPLA/UNITA/FNLA transition government, which was aborted with the guerrilla civil war, the arrival of the first Cuban internationalists and the South African invasion of Angola, in 1975 ("operation Zulu").

#### Statesmanship

Then Jonas Savimbi made the "desert trek," fleeing 2,000 or so kilometers on foot with some thousand loyal soldiers. One day, 65 of them arrived at the "Lands at the End of the Earth," inhabited only by elephants, lions, wolves. It was natural law: the survivors of the "long march" chose a spot and built the first grass huts of Jamba. Today they are the leaders of UNITA, the strongest, the ones who have withstood the hunger, the madness, the wild animals.

The epitome of the endurance and discipline of the UNITA officers is the politically charismatic figure of Jonas Savimbi, who is now taking up "the discourse of statesmanship" and the language of reconciliation.

#### The Man

But beyond the guerrilla, the military officer, the leader, what is the human side of Savimbi?

He is married, for the second time. His first wife died in Jamba 3 years ago, of a stroke.

He has five "small" children, who "do not yet understand the struggle very well."

His mother is 87 years old and she lives in Jamba. "She understands everything. She understands the struggle, she understands what suffering is. She is always asking when peace will come."

Of his family, Savimbi retains only the image of his father, who was an employee of the Benguela Railroad and was arrested by the Portuguese ("he was a fighter for the dignity of the African"). In every office where Savimbi works, there is a photograph of his father. "It is vital to my work."

He does not work by any schedule and he never quits. His closest collaborators say that "he only sleeps when the body cannot go on." This can happen after 20 or 24 successive hours of work.

It is not unusual for Savimbi to send for this one and that one at midnight or at dawn, to work with him. "Vacation" is not in his vocabulary.

"Where would I go?" he jokes.

I joke, too: "The United States...."

He laughs: "No. no...."

I ask: "What about free time?"

He laughs: "We don't have any free time. If we did, we would work."

#### Deeply Religious

Often Savimbi works to a background of classical music. There were cassette tapes of Beethoven, Mozart and Vivaldi.

I express my surprise that there are only Western composers.

"Sure. They are the product of the Christian civilization, which is the Western civilization. It isn't that we don't want to hear music that is not Western, but in the environment in which we were raised, we think this music tells us something."

Savimbi admits he is "deeply religious" and he knows the Bible well. He is Protestant. "And I am still protesting." He smiles.

"But you have had bad things to say about the Protestant Church."

"For two reasons: first, because the Protestant Church is not aiding the struggle for peace in Angola. It is compromising with the regime. Second, by attacking the Protestant Church, I do not make any enemies. If I were to attack the Catholic Church, I, who am not Catholic, could make enemies."

#### Lesson of History

Passionately interested in history, Savimbi can recite, with great ease, dates, places, facts, names and statistics. "I have read history books, biographies, sociological works. I don't read novels. I have read a good deal about politicians. I can name some for you: de Gaulle, Churchill, Roosevelt, Ataturk-- who was the leader and unifier of Turkey, Grivas-- a combatant of Cyprus, Stalin. I have read about almost everyone who has had an influence on the world."

"What is your aversion to novels?"

"It is not 'aversion.' It is lack of time. This means that my time is allotted to learn something, quickly, that I can use tomorrow. Since my life is very active, it is very costly for me to read a novel. A novel is relaxing and

soothes the nerves, but the next day I have nothing to put to practical use. In a biography, a book on military strategy, an economic text, a history, I always learn something."

"What do you think about beauty?"

"I have said to all my comrades that beauty is what man builds. We are always tearing down and then rebuilding; we have to be very careful, because many people don't know how to set limits on tearing down to build again; they become accustomed to simply tearing down. Destruction doesn't cost anything. The difficult thing, and the broadening thing, is to build. An architect who designs a house, a bridge, while he is earning a living as an architect, sees that house, that bridge, as a work of art. It is beautiful. It is pleasing. It is a proper building. But when we always go around with explosives, blowing up houses and bridges, we have to be careful not to fall into the extremism of thinking that destruction is a normal way of life. For men, the normal way of life, for the edification of his soul, is to build."

[Box, p. 15]

Savimbi on the Others

--On Eduardo dos Santos: (Without hesitation, and calmly) "Countryman."

--On Samora Machel: (Pause) "President of Mozambique."

--On Nelson Mandela: (Quick reply) "South African nationalist who has already spent more than 20 years in prison."

--On Kenneth Kaunda: (Disgusted) "President of Zambia, who was my friend, my good friend, and is a turncoat."

--On Muhammad Qadhafi: (Responds quickly and then more calmly) "President of Jamahiriya, which is Libya. I think he has a dangerous policy."

--On Abdou Diouf: (Seriously) "President of Senegal, who replaced my friend Leopold Sedar Senghor and who, with the OAU, tried to make a grandiose policy for a small country."

--On Aristide Pereira: (Pause) "President of Cape Verde, whom I know very well. A sensible man. It is a pity he does not exert his influence in the Angolan conflict."

--On Mario Soares: (Peremptory) "President of the Portuguese Republic. Great politician."

--On Cavaco Silva: (Pauses and replies hesitantly) "Professor Cavaco Silva is prime minister of the Portuguese Government, whom I cannot describe."

--On Francois Mitterand: (Pause) "President of the French Republic, socialist, very cautious; he has always defended the French interests."

- On Ronald Reagan: (Long pause) "President of the United States and a good friend to UNITA."
- On Mikhail Gorbachev: (Long pause) "Already an old leader of the Soviet Union. In the beginning, the West thought he was someone with whom it could negotiate, but he has run the government for a long time and can, at times, be very dangerous."
- On Mobutu Sese Seko: (Answers calmly) "President of the Republic of Zaire, who established legitimacy. Very courageous man."
- On Margaret Thatcher: (Quick answer) "Prime minister of England. Conservative, who could have done more for UNITA and hasn't."
- On Raul Alfonsin: (Serenely) "Alfonsin, an Argentine. We think he did a good thing to discipline the military, but it went on a little too long."
- On Daniel Ortega: (No hesitation) "Daniel Ortega is the current president of Nicaragua. He has a lot to gain by not creating animosity against the United States, because, in any case, he is facing a giant."
- On Robert Mugabe: (Stern expression) "A man whom I know very well. Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, considered at one time to be a Maoist. He must be cautious with the policy which he is pursuing now."
- On Mao Tse-Tung: (Quick reply) "Monument of China and of the Third World, if we wish to define the Third World. China owes its independence and its unification to Mao Tse-Tung."
- On Julius Caesar: (Changes expression and raises his voice) "Julius Caesar, a great commander. Among several things that we can learn from him, Julius Caesar said (pause): 'It is better to be the chief of a village than assistant chief in a capital.'"
- On Charles de Gaulle: (Serenely) "President and liberator of France. A very dignified man. Everyone in France is a Gaullist. Even the Communists are Gaullists, because it was de Gaulle who succeeded in uniting France, who struggled against the Hitler regime."
- On Salazar: (Pause) "Salazar was the dictator. No. Let us define the man as I would like: a university professor of Coimbra, called to govern Portugal by the Portuguese people, and later turned into a dictator and a facist. To us Angolans, whom he colonized, Salazar cannot have any good qualities, only defects. But among all these defects, there is one that I would like to stress: unfortunately, when Salazar governed Portugal and the colonies, none of us learned about politics. Politics belonged to him. Now we are all beginning to understand politics."

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## BANK FAILURES: MOI'S OPPORTUNITY TO WEAKEN KIKUYU INFLUENCE

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English 3 Sep 86 pp 1-2

[Text]

Since June, two Kenyan banks and four credit companies have collapsed. They have left a trail of fraud and mismanagement which has shaken Kenya's financial world to its foundations. Among the six financial institutions placed in the hands of the government receiver are the country's largest indigenous bank, the *Continental Bank of Kenya*, and its parent company, *Continental Credit Finance Limited*.

The real cause of the banking crisis has become apparent. Greedy chairmen and directors of grossly under-capitalised companies had loaned themselves money on favourable terms, while their companies had kept inaccurate accounts. Then, when their creditors became alarmed and tried to retrieve their money, the dishonest financiers tried desperately to borrow from other institutions, thus advertising their difficulties to the whole financial community. Expatriate banks demanded the repayment of loans by suspect borrowers, and the Kenyan *Central Bank* refused to bail out organizations that it considered beyond salvation.

Individual depositors then panicked and besieged banks to demand repayment. Kenya's entire banking structure came close to collapse, as one company's failure led to another in a chain reaction. It also became clear that Kenya's *National Social Security Fund* (NSSF) and the *National Hospital Insurance Fund* (NHIF) had invested in some of the defaulting companies, so that the number of citizens exposed to loss was greater than just those who had made individual deposits in the collapsed banks.

The government at first reacted slowly, not wishing to draw the attention of foreign investors to the situation. Eventually something had to be done to halt the collapse. At the same time, President **Daniel arap Moi** and his advisers appear to have realised that they could gain political advantage from a crisis which was not of their making. This stemmed from

the fact that three-quarters of the country's 27 banks, 36 building societies and 46 other financial institutions are run by Kikuyu interests. All of the banks which had collapsed were also Kikuyu. Their chairmen and directors were among the wealthiest of the Kikuyu plutocracy which is estranged from Moi, while many of the small investors who had lost money were also Kikuyu.

The banks' collapse therefore provided an opportunity for the government to drive a wedge between the Kikuyu *wananchi* who had lost their money and some of the most influential leaders of their own community. Some observers believe that Moi used the occasion somewhat cynically to pose as the champion of the common man or woman while also disposing of some of his most powerful opponents. We examine the evidence for such a theory below. Moi attacked the bankers for their 'gross mismanagement and malpractice', and the directors and shareholders 'who had loaned to themselves, or to their companies, large sums of depositors' money without adequate security.' The president also claimed that the people behind the bank collapse had been responsible in addition for the collapse of land purchasing companies, where thousands of small investors had lost their money.

The resulting attack on Kikuyu high finance has struck at some hitherto unassailable rivals of Moi. The president's first move was to sack **Andrew Kimani Ngumba**, a former mayor of Nairobi who was the assistant minister of planning and national development. Ngumba was the chairman and owner of *Rural Urban Finance and Credit*, a company that had collapsed as early as December 1984, long before the six companies whose collapse caused the present crisis. The demise of *Rural Urban Finance and Credit* had left many dissatisfied depositors and a large debt. The NHIF had placed its second-highest investment with the company, amounting to 19 million shillings. Immediately after Ngumba's sacking, Moi named a Special Investment Committee (SIC) to examine the scandal and to advise how to salvage the bankrupt companies.

The SIC was chaired by the finance minister, Professor **George Saitoti**, who is generally highly regarded among financiers. Other members of the team included:

- **Dr Robert Ouko**, an economist, now minister of planning and national development. He is remembered for his attempts to save the East African Community in the 1970s.
- **Simeon Nyachae**, the chief secretary and secretary for cabinet affairs, who is arguably the most influential of Moi's close advisors. He has made himself a millionaire in a remarkably short time. He has banking interests of his own. Last year the pugnacious backbench member of parliament **Martin Shikuku** called in parliament for an inquiry into the sources of Nyachae's wealth.
- **Philip Ndegwa**, the long-standing governor of the Central Bank, who has been attempting to control the proliferation

of secondary banking institutions and their growing liquidity problems in recent years.

- **Bethwel Gechaga**, the chairman of *British American Tobacco* (BAT). He is a nominated member of parliament.
- **Peter Nyakimo**, former chief executive of *Barclay's Bank (Kenya)* before becoming a minister in the president's office, and subsequently minister of health.
- Justice **Matthew Guy Muli**, one of Kenya's first African judges, appointed in 1983.
- **Harry Mule**, permanent secretary in the ministry of finance. He is considered the leading financial expert in the civil service.
- **E. K. Cheserem**, the chief accountant of *East Africa Industries* and a director of the Central Bank. He has a particularly good knowledge of the private sector.

One of the main tasks of the SIC is to advise the managers who have been installed in the failed companies by the Central Bank. In practice, this will mean dealing with the receivers on behalf of the defaulting companies. The Central Bank has also been asked to examine surviving institutions to ensure that there are no further bankruptcies.

The government now has to weigh carefully the political and financial implications of its position. It has the means to destroy other financial companies, many of them Kikuyu-run, by ordering parastatal companies and savings institutions to transfer their accounts or call in their loans. Against this is the financial danger of further collapse. We believe that, now that the president has made his point to the Kikuyu business community, he will act to support the country's financial structure wholeheartedly.

The recent wave of bank failures started with the *Continental Bank of Kenya*. It had overstretched its resources during the last year and had stayed in business by borrowing from the Central Bank. It had incurred debts of 257 million shillings when the central bank stopped lending any more. When customers of the *Continental Bank of Kenya* went to withdraw funds on Friday 4 July 1986, they found that the bank had suspended operations. The government-owned *Kenya Commercial Bank* at once refused to accept cheques drawn on accounts held at the *Continental Bank of Kenya*.

Meanwhile, *Continental Credit Finance* had lost 25 million shillings which it had loaned to the defunct *Rural Urban*, besides owing 75 million shillings to the NSSF. When it was known that these two inter-related companies were in difficulties, there was an immediate rush for repayment by the public. More seriously, major parastatal companies were ordered by their managers to withdraw their funds and place them elsewhere.

By early August, both *Continental* companies had been placed in the hands of the official receiver. It is notable that a bid to save the two companies by a consortium of Kikuyu businessmen was turned down by the Central Bank, almost certainly under



instructions from the government. It did not want one group of Kikuyu businessmen to succeed where another had failed.

Hardly had the *Continental* companies gone into official receivership when the *Jimba Credit Corporation* owned by another Kikuyu, **Jimnah Mubaru**, closed its doors to the public. So did its two subsidiaries, *Union Bank* and *Kenya Savings and Mortgages*. The reasons for failure were similar to those at the *Continental* companies.

President Moi then carried out an earlier threat and ordered the arrest of the directors of the *Continental Bank*, *Continental Finance*, and *Rural Urban*. Those arrested included group chairman **Philip Wahome**, managing director **Stephen Kimani**, the general manager of *Continental Finance* **Wimbicho Maina**, and its directors **John Wairagu**, **Peter Gachara**, and **S. V. Shah**. Four other directors from *Rural Urban* were also arrested. The financiers were held for a weekend of questioning at the headquarters of the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) and then released.

That week, there was speculation that Andrew Ngumba had gone missing. There were reports that he had been arrested while trying to flee to **Tanzania** or to **Britain**, where he was said to have joined **Shantilal Gulabchand**, a financier who left Kenya in 1984 leaving debts of 25 million shillings. The police immediately froze Ngumba's bank account and seized the passports of other *Urban Rural* directors. We have no knowledge of Ngumba's present whereabouts or circumstances.

The Kenyan banking scandal may not yet be finished. We understand that another recently-established bank and a building society are also in difficulties. Solvent financial institutions are so worried that they have taken advertisements in the national press insisting on the soundness of their businesses and asking the government to take firm action against criminals in the world of finance.

Many Kenyans are wondering why all of the failed institutions were Kikuyu-run. The simple answer is that many prominent businessmen and businesswomen are Kikuyu, and so it is no surprise that they should be the main victims of a bank collapse. Those who see evidence of political manipulation on the part of the government make the point that the NSSF recalled all the loans it had made at a time when only *Rural Urban* had gone bust. It was this act which finally tipped the *Continental* group and the *Union Bank* group into insolvency. They also point out that Moi has himself invoked the political aspects of the affair, by accusing the guilty financiers not just of dishonesty but of deliberately sabotaging the economy for political reasons.

In response to the point about the withdrawal of loans by the NSSF, government spokesmen argue that the NSSF and the NHIF had a responsibility to defend their depositors against any foreseeable risk and that they were only taking a sensible precaution at a time when the banks were already suspected of being unsound. The government actually punished the director of the NHIF, **Peter Kariuki**, by sending him on compulsory leave pending investigation of his investments into troubled financial institutions. This demonstrated the government's determination. But then, the sceptics point out, Peter Kariuki is also a Kikuyu.

Some aspects of the affair are perfectly clear. The root cause of the banking collapse is financial malpractice. Those accused of responsibility are leading Kikuyu businessmen, members of a community which has come under political attack from the government in recent years but has retained its commercial power. The real losers, of course, are the thousands of ordinary Kenyans who had deposited money in the banks which have gone bust. President Moi and his closest associates themselves have a reputation for business acumen which is becoming the subject of criticism rather than admiration (AC Vol.27, No.8). Kenyan capitalism itself is gaining an increasingly tarnished reputation. ●

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CSO: 3400/343

## LIBERIA OIL COMPANY VENTURE CANCELLED

London AFRICA ECONOMIST DIGEST in English 27 Sep 86 pp 7-8 of the AED Special Report supplement

[Text]

The controversial oil marketing and distribution agreement signed by the government with the US' **C S International** and Bermuda-based **Gadco-Petro International** appears to have been cancelled, following strong opposition from the World Bank and local companies, Monrovia sources told AED.

The 18 July agreement aimed to give exclusive rights on importing petroleum products for resale to **Liberia Oil Company (LOC)**, a joint venture between the government and the two companies. This caused concern at the World Bank, however, as the clause implied **Liberia Petroleum Refining Corporation (LPRC)** — the state-owned petroleum importing and marketing body and the country's main distributor — would lose its importing rights, and have to buy from LOC at a premium.

The bank is also concerned about the fate of tax revenues due to be brought in by LPRC. The latter, which is mandated by the government to collect a \$1.50-a-gallon excise tax from consumers, is capable of raising \$100 million a year for the treasury, aid officials say. Much of the revenue so far collected has never been transferred to government coffers, although pledges were made in the March and July budgets that funds would be handed over in future (AED 26:7:86; 22:3:86).

The bank had earlier urged privatisation of LPRC to improve its efficiency and bring in much-needed revenue for the treasury. Instead, the government concluded the LOC deal, without prior consultation with

the bank and in the face of open opposition by senior LPRC management.

The bank sent a formal cable to Monrovia in early September opposing the contract and implying it would find it difficult to continue doing business with Liberia if the deal went ahead, AED was told. This could have put at risk the \$28 million in World Bank funds due for disbursement on Liberia's clearing of its arrears.

Locally based companies — some of which were importing petroleum products directly — also lobbied against the agreement, fearing it would raise their costs, while officials at the Planning & Economic Affairs Ministry sent a letter to President Doe requesting it be cancelled, Monrovia sources say.

Initial statements from the executive mansion said the contract would be reviewed. However, Planning & Economic Affairs Minister Paul Jeffy is reported to have been told by Doe in the week ending September 20 that the contract would be cancelled, the sources add.

To win continued support from the World Bank, Liberia must repay its \$18.3 million arrears; this is likely to come from \$18 million in US economic support funds (ESF) due to be disbursed soon. The government has also agreed to allow an audit to be done on LPRC's books by an international company — yet to be appointed — which will be paid for by US Agency for International Development. It has also renewed its pledge that excise tax collected by LPRC will be transferred to the government in future.

/9317

CSO: 3400/236

MAX DU PREEZ RECALLS MNR'S 'UNSAVORY' PAST

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 23 Oct 86 p 9

[Article by Max du Preez]

[Text] Mozambican rebels would have everything going for them in the power vacuum left by the death of charismatic President Machel--if only they could shed their past.

The Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR) was truly born in sin--as a puppet movement of the Rhodesian Army and later of the South African Defence Force. The Mozambican masses, however desperate, will never forgive this unholy conception.

The Rhodesians brought together a motley bunch who shared only a hatred for Frelimo, which had assumed power after the Portuguese left. A number of these elements had been operating after independence in 1975. They included several groups of blacks sponsored and led by dispossessed Portuguese colonials, such as Orlando Christina and Jorge Jardim.

Another element represented people unhappy with Frelimo's undermining of the authority of the tribal chiefs. A third element formed around black deserters from the Portuguese army. Frelimo guerrilla leaders ousted after bitter power struggles also joined.

Over its nine years, the MNR has had only two leaders. The official MNR history says it was formed in February 1977 when its first leader, Andre Matadi Matsangaissa, launched the first armed attack on a Frelimo patrol. When Matsangaissa died in 1979, Afonso Mecacho Marisetta Dhlakama took over. He is still the president.

The son of a tribal chief from Sofala province, Dhlakama deserted from the Portuguese Army to join Frelimo in 1972. He rose through the ranks and became a provincial commander along with Matsangaissa but later grew frustrated with Frelimo officers' corruption and abuse of power, eventually crossing into Rhodesia to assist Christina.

Beneath the two presidents, however, the MNR has been torn by infighting.

There also has been tension between blacks and people of racially mixed ancestry. White and mixed-race Portuguese nationals, such as Christina--murdered in 1983--and his successor, Evo Fernandes, dominated the movement until recently. Now Dhlakama has handed power back to black leaders in the bush. Fernandes and European spokesman Jorge Correia were fired this month.

The MNR operates on a very loose basis. The three regional commanders have great autonomy, although they are in radio contact with Dhlakama--courtesy of Pretoria. There are strong suspicions that Dhlakama is still in radio contact with the SADF through the network the SADF admitted setting up last year.

Not being an organisation rooted in the traditional mass liberation struggle, the MNR has no clear ideology or programme of principles. Dhlakama said in a recent interview that the people of Mozambique did not want any ideology, because they did not understand it. "What they want--and that is what we stand for--is free elections, a free constitution, respect for human rights, an open economy, respect for the traditions of our people and the rejection of the bonds of communism."

/9274

CSO: 3400/332

## MOZAMBIQUE

### INACTIVITY OF CAHORA BASSA DAM CREATES 'WHITE ELEPHANT'

Lisbon TAL & QUAL in Portuguese 26 Sep 86 p 3

[Article by Carlos Vargas]

[Text] Supporters of direct Portuguese involvement in the Cahora Bassa project after Mozambican independence in 1975 believed that compromise was necessary to pave the way for cooperation. Opponents of the idea, on the other hand, considered compromise unjustified, in general citing the indisputable financial burden that it would entail. In all, Portugal has undertaken an investment in the Zambeze River of more than 60 billion escudos and Cahora Bassa now fills a place in the collective Portuguese imagination as a sort of bottomless pit.

This is not entirely correct. After all, with the cutting-by sabotage-of the energy transmission lines to South Africa more than a year ago, the Cahora Bassa Hydroelectric (HCB) has been transformed into a utility with virtually no income, its activity reduced to supplying the Peoples' Republic of Mozambique with a tiny share of electricity-about 1 percent of the facility's normal production capacity. However, the HCB maintains some 1,500 workers on its payroll, including 197 Portuguese, and has succeeded in paying off a debt service that has been heavy-especially under present conditions. The utility's debt at the end of last year approached 23 billion escudos. TAL & Qual has been informed this week that the amortized payments on this debt, plus labor and maintenance costs, currently amount to some 20 million escudos per day.

HCB financial authorities are naturally reluctant to supply details, but the utility's financial reports have for many years made repeated references to "shortfalls in income." Tactfully and technically, the phenomenon is explained as resulting from "line malfunctions," or "temporary suspension, due to unforeseen circumstances, of the contract with ESCOM"-the South African public utility receiving Cahora Bassa's almost entire production. It cannot be denied, however, that these interruptions in the supply of energy to the Electricity Supply Commission of Johannesburg are subject to "penalties," nor that the prices stipulated in the contract for so-called "hard energy" have reached record lows. The beneficiary has obviously always been the same: the Republic of South Africa.

The accumulated deficit at Cahora Bassa Hydroelectric is greater now than that anticipated in 1975 and even at later dates, due in great part to the severe damages inflicted upon the utility's high voltage lines over the last few years. Most of these have, in fact, been calmly claimed by the Lisbon representatives of RNM-Mozambican National Resistance, or RENAMO, an organization openly supported by South Africa.

The Portuguese authorities' negligence with respect to RENAMO is indescribable. This disregard has been blatant for many years, even after becoming quite evident that the sabotage of Cahora Bassa was causing severe damage to the political and economic plans and interests of the Portuguese government. Portugal owns 81.66 percent of the equity in Cahora Bassa Hydroelectric.

The Zambeze River project is today, for some, an intolerable ideological white elephant, to be eliminated at all cost. For others, however, it still represents a ray of hope.

And in the meantime, everything appears to be, in fact, prematurely lost. For more than a year some 500 high voltage structures knocked down in a single strike have been under repair, in an area of approximately 300 kilometers in Mozambican territory. The cost of materials alone for the reconstruction is more than 1.5 billion escudos. This is occurring just at the time when Portugal does not appear to be interested in new investments in the project and Mozambique is combatting the torment of the drought and becoming the most hunger-stricken country in Africa. The result: Cahora Bassa has been practically paralyzed for more than a year, it being ever more evident that the Mozambican government does not by itself have the resources to repair the facility-its main source of industrial income. South Africa, naturally, is in no hurry-if only because it produces sufficient energy on its own, although not at a price as convenient as that obtained from Cahora Bassa.

The dead end is almost perfect and the security issue is the decisive argument for doing nothing. It is significant, by the way, that on the Portuguese side, no serious action at the level of foreign policy has been taken up till now. The Portuguese government does not appear to want to have anything to do with reality, despite having titular legal majority in Cahora Bassa Hydroelectric and despite the utility's being practically non-functioning and without funds since August 1985.

Last week HCB President Castro Fontes traveled to Mozambique to meet with the head of state of the RPM. Samora Machel, in his direct and inimitable style, took advantage of the opportunity to remind him: "We do not wish for Cahora Bassa to be a white elephant." And he explained, "Because a white elephant has no ivory..." The Portuguese administrator will be returning to Lisbon with the mission of conveying that, in the eyes of Maputo, "Mozambique and Portugal are responsible for the correct and complete functioning of Cahora Bassa." Perfectly clear.

Machel was equally straightforward when, referring to Portugal, he said that "the Mozambican government considers Cahora Bassa to be the high point of the friendship between the two countries."

It is not known if anyone in the President's office, the Prime Minister's office or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will, upon hearing this, feel embarrassed. The truth is that there are apparently those who prefer to let the ivory get away. However, Ambassador Brito e Cunha, Foreign Affairs Ministry spokesman, created an opening for hope when he stated to TAL & QUAL, "Perhaps even this year the Luso-Mozambican Mixed Commission will meet"-which it has not done since 1984. Fine, perhaps this year...

13026/9869

CSO: 3542/12



BABANGIDA ON SELF-RELIANCE IN DEFENCE PRODUCTION

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 23 Sep 86 pp 1, 3

[Text]

**PRESIDENT Ibrahim Babangida yesterday repeated Federal Government's commitments to the achievement of self-sufficiency in the production of defence materials within available resources.**

In a message the President sent to the opening of a four-day armed forces seminar at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA), Victoria Island, Lagos, he said government's commitment to such goal was based on knowledge that a self-reliant nation was one which depended less on the external assistance in matters of national defence and internal security.

He therefore, urged participants to make recommendations on what strategic materials would be available in the country and matters of preserving them in order to meet future needs.

The President noted that mineral resources was of strategic importance, especially when the need and stake for it were high.

In a paper presented at the

seminar by the Director of Mineral Resources in the Federal Ministry of Mines, Power and Steel, Alhaji Inuwa Gombe, he called for the intensification of geological prospecting and mapping in the country.

Alhaji Inuwa said "until every inch of the country's territory is combed it will be difficult to see what other minerals might be found."

He stated that exploration should follow close to geological mapping while exploitation of proven reserve should as much as possible aim at providing raw materials for industries.

He disclosed that it would cost about 50 million Naira to develop the Kano underground tin deposit and 18 million Naira for the lead, zinc deposit in Abakaliki.

This, he said, gave an indication of enormous financial resource required for the nation to develop her own mineral potentials.

Alhaji Inuwa stressed the need for the country to adopt foreign policy measures that would enable it to find and procure minerals from other nations on government to government basis especially in Africa.

He advocated the stock-piling of necessary raw materials especially metals as part of the policy.

Participants in the seminar include members of the Armed Forces, retired senior military officers and policy makers in both the private and public sectors.

## NATION WOODED FOR MILITARY/TECH TRANSFER VALUE AT AIR SHOW

Lagos THE AFRICAN GUARDIAN in English 9 Oct 86 pp 10-11

[Text]

**N**IGERIA, like most other African states, was well represented at the Farnborough air show. Defence minister, Major General Domkat Bali, led a team which also included Chief of Air Staff, Air Vice Marshal Ibrahim Alfa and Commodore Babatunde Elegbede, the Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA) boss. General Bali hinted in Lagos shortly before the air show that Nigeria's representation was officially requested by organisers of the exhibition. He told *The African Guardian* then that his presence at the show was not to be shopping-oriented, but necessary for learning and planning; learning what is new on the scene of systems technology which he described as very useful in defence planning.

In the same vein, most other invited African delegations were in the show to "open their eyes wider."

Nigeria is considered strategic in opening up the eyes of most other African nations for the sales of military wares. And Nigeria's military aircraft trade partners such as Italy's Aermacchi, confirmed as much when a company representative who praised the quality of Nigerian pilots in Farnborough, stressed that good trade relations with Nigeria was top priority with Aermacchi. The reasoning was that other African countries could be stimulated to establish trade links with the company for easy sale of combat aircraft.

The Nigeria Airforce is flying 12 of Aermacchi's MB339A trainer/light ground attack aircraft and three other

African states fly an earlier version (326K). The point that most African countries desire, is the possibility of military aerospace technological transfer from the experienced advanced countries.

Some of the bell-ringing names in Nigeria's aerospace history present in Farnborough this year, included America's Boeing, architects of the Nigeria Airways massive airliner haulers of the present times, and its close contender in the mill, Airbus Industries — the European winner consortium for medium and large capacity commuters.

Also starring were Aerospatiale, makers of NAF's Puma/Super Puma military transporters, British aerospace, makers of the controversial Jaguar fighters, Dassault, the French partner builders of the Jaguar and the Alpha jet, a collaborative programme between Dassault, West Germany's Dornier. Other Nigerian military aircraft partners at the show included Aeritalia of NAF's G222 transporter fame, and Aeronautica — Macchi, the Italian firm which built the MB339 Aermacchi trainer/fighter jets, the youngest pool of combat aircraft in NAF's Arsenal.

But these two, West Germany's Messerschmitt Bolkow Blohm (MBB) and Dornier are certainly significant names in Nigeria's present day military aviation status.

Dornier, which has become a bus-stop name in Nigerian military and even civilian circles, has a long standing trade relations with Nigeria dating back to

1964 when Nigeria became the first African nation to fly a Dornier aircraft — a DO 27 liaison aircraft, when the airforce was just one year old. The same aircraft, operating with the Nigerian police prepared grounds for the DO 28, DO 128-2 skyservant and DO 228 variants that later joined the fleet.

Also, partners in the making of NAF's Alpha jets, Dornier voted Nigeria a very important trade friend as eight other African countries paddled aboard various Dornier aircraft. These countries are: Lesotho, Botswana, Niger, Malawi and Ethiopia, all operating the sky-servant and the 228; Cameroun and Egypt operating the Alpha jet and the Republic of Benin, flying two skyservants by courtesy of Nigeria's "big brother" dash of the aircraft to the country.

In Nigeria alone, Dornier has sold about 100 utility aircraft with an added continuous potential for better future market prospects. Also the force behind the Nigerian Navy's local training programme for officers and men, Dornier steps in ahead of the others whenever a stock of military firms is taken in Nigeria.

The second company, MBB, also from West Germany were the makers of NAF's multi-purpose combat helicopters designated BO 105, first flown in 1967 and sold to the Nigerian Air Force

in 1975. As one of the front line helicopters in NAF's arsenal, the BO105 is perhaps the fleet that has the largest maintenance workshop in the airforce base.

MBB has demonstrated full tank product support for the helicopters also operating in Liberia, Sudan, Tanzania and Lesotho. Parent company Executive MR August Van Joust, who spoke to *The African Guardian* in Farnborough, said of the African market, "we want to be stronger." Commendably, Mr. Van Joust is also one of the few in the business that would speak up that African countries would be far better with self sustaining aerospace industrial bases even when such a reality would mean less business for companies such as his. The major difficulty he spotted in any such possibility was the problem of African countries requiring less than a reasonable quantity of a particular product that could make industrial technological transfer feasible. Besides, Mr. Van Joust whose company already has a subsidiary Lagos based branch headed by electronic expert, Mr. Kaye Abraham, also noted that African states may after all, have no choice but to keep importing military equipment in his understanding that it may cost far more to manufacture the same weapons locally in non feasible quantities.

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CSO: 3400/339

## 'AKINYEMI DOCTRINE' ON FOREIGN POLICY ANALYZED

Kaduna SUNDAY NEW NIGERIAN in English 28 Sep 86 p 3

[Article by Mohammed Haruna]

[Text]

PROFESSOR Bolaji Akinyemi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, is a man to be admired for his intellect and staying power. In these days of professorship by indigenisation, academic titles may not necessarily attest to one's intellectual depth, but no one who has kept a tab on our foreign policy in the last 15 years or so, will doubt that Akinyemi is a leader among those who profess international relations.

As for his staying power, his record eight years at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, is sufficient testimony. Before him, that foreign policy brain trust was more like a theatre of musical chairs than anything else. If further evidence was needed that the man was not easily shoved aside, it lay in his new job. Twice now, word had gone round that he was being eased out, but at the end of it all, and in spite of a few powerful generals, both serving and retired that he had offended, the man is still sitting pretty at Foreign Affairs.

Clearly, the words of person of Akinyemi's intellect and staying power is not to be sniffed at. Certainly not when he is mending the foreign affairs store. That is why his Gold Medal Lecture at Eko Holiday Inn on September 17 is our subject this morning.

In the course of the lecture. Akinyemi, after defining Nigeria's national interest and the guiding principles for pursuing those interests, dwelt on several of the instruments for our foreign policy. He discussed ECOWAS, the OAU, the Commonwealth, Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the U.N.

In talking about principles, he, of course, reiterated his now famous doctrine of reciprocity.

A critical analysis of each out of these, would require greater space than this column has. I will therefore focus on only two aspects of his speech and even then, my comments will be broad. These aspects are one each of principle and instrument. The principle is the "Akinyemi Doctrine" and the instrument is his proposal for a Concert of Medium Powers which, as far as I can see, is a variation of the instrument of Non-Alignment.

First the "Akinyemi Doctrine." Readers may recall the heated controversy which the Minister aroused when he first stated that doctrine in March, following America's naval exercises in the Gulf of Sidra, off the Libyan coast. Readers will also recall the more heated controversy that followed his restatement of that doctrine at the Kuru Conference on Foreign Policy in April, again

just about the time the Americans were dropping bombs on Libya.

While many said he must go, others thought the man was dead on course.

At the time of the controversy, Akinyemi defined his doctrine thus: "If we owe a responsibility to stand for and respond to Africa, we are owed an obligation to be consulted when situation allows for consultation."

During the Gold Medal Lecture, he re-stated this. "Not to consult Nigeria," he said, "but to expect its support, is to take Nigeria for granted... Nigeria... will not be taken for granted."

Those who have argued that Akinyemi is dead on course are of course dead right. No self-respecting nation will allow itself to be taken for granted. Even then some of us took umbrage not so much at the doctrine, as at the context in which Akinyemi stated it. Given the context of first, American harassment of and subsequently, the bombing of Libya, it was obvious that Akinyemi was hiding behind what was obviously a sound doctrine to justify our initial silence at America's unjustifiable brigandage against a small nation. Gaddafi was, after all, no more terrorist than the next man; a Kissinger's study on the subject

had ranked Libya way down as number seven in the hierarchy of so-called terrorist-nations.

What Akinyemi was saying in effect then was that Gaddafi did not consult us before the Gulf of Sidra incident and could therefore, not expect our support during and after the incident. It is a funny logic. Its hollowness is demonstrated by a distinction Akinyemi tries to make between support for the Gaddafis when they are aggressed and support for the Frontline States. "Nigeria's obligations to the Frontline States and the liberation movements in southern Africa", he said, "are perhaps, the singular exceptions to our new emphasis on reciprocity in our international relations. Our commitment... is total and unconditional... Indeed it is a basic tenet of our fundamental law."

Akinyemi then proceeds to quote section 19 of our constitution which says, "The state shall promote African unity... and shall combat racial discrimination in all its manifestations."

If one may ask, how does discrimination against Libya, presumably on account that it is not black, at the same time promote African unity? How many black African countries can boast of anything near Libya's credentials as a committed fighter of apartheid, Africa's number one man-made scourge? Or, what grounds then should we wait for an aggressed African country, black or Arab, to consult us first before we go to its support?

In any case if we are taken for granted not only by Libya but also by black nations, in spite of our population and wealth, does that not speak volumes of our approach to foreign policy? Should we not ask whether the millions of hard currency we say we spend for liberation, really reach the liberation forces? Because that could be one explanation for the contempt with which we are regarded.

I agree with Akinyemi that we must insist on reciprocity in our foreign relations. But

that, in turn, means we too must EARN respect. You don't do that by simply throwing money around. That can only make us look like the fool who is soon parted with his money. The only way we can earn respect is by demonstrating a sincerity and oneness of purpose.

This was lacking even during Murtala's time. As Akinyemi himself knows too well, those with deep-seated mistrust of radical forces have always held sway at Foreign Affairs, and have tended to seek to frustrate the radical elements in our foreign policy. In Angola, for instance, General Joseph Garba was hardly enamoured of MPLA, preferring instead a so-called government of national unity and the Angolans knew it. In Zimbabwe, Nigeria under General Obasanjo, was for a long time hostile to Mugabe and supportive of Nkomo, presumably on account that the British preferred him.

If we may now move to Akinyemi's "Concert of Medium Powers." This proposal is hardly original. As far back as 1975, Dr. Mahmud Tukur, a former Vice-Chancellor of Bayero University, had suggested this to a Commission on Foreign Policy, headed by Professor Adebayo Adedeji of the Economic Commission for Africa. Tukur had suggested that the "Concert" comprise Nigeria, Brazil, Indonesia, Iran (at the time under the Shah) and Saudi Arabia. Akinyemi, who though not originating the idea, is its most persistent protagonist, has expanded it to include Sweden, Austria, Australia, Argentina, Yugoslavia, India, and Algeria (see his "Farewell to Policy", NIIA Lecture Series No. 35). He has further increased the number from "12 to 16" in his Gold Medal lecture without however, naming the additional countries.

Akinyemi justifies the "Concert" on the grounds that the Non-Aligned Movement has since lost its bite. "The Non-Aligned Movement itself", he said, "has now become too large to deal effectively with many of the problems with which the international community is con-

fronted."

Straight away, I must say, I find it hard to believe that the "Concert" will serve any useful purpose other than as a counter-poise to NAM which the West sees now as being too aligned in favour of the East. Look at the composition of the "Concert". Of all the lot, only Yugoslavia is truly non-aligned. India and Algeria are relatively independent but their economies are dependent on the West and at the end of the day that is what really counts.

Even Yugoslavia is looked upon favourably by the West, because it has rejected classical Marxism. What we see then in the "Concert" is basically an alignment of countries that are either themselves already Western (Austria, Australia, Sweden), or those that are in its orbit.

The most striking thing about the "Concert" clearly is the omission of such countries as Cuba and Iran who seem to have successfully defied the West. That omission is hardly inadvertent. Akinyemi's criteria for membership is a state "which has a high degree of regional influence and prestige, and which shows a strong commitment to non-alignment or neutrality in international affairs." Surely Cuba and Iran have regional influence and surely Iran and even Cuba with all its pro-Moscow image demonstrate a large degree of independence.

How come then they are not included? So the most charitable thing one could say about Akinyemi's "Concert" is that it is the answer of those with Western sympathies to the necessarily anti-Western rhetoric of NAM. A less charitable view will be that, the "Concert" is a self-serving arrangement. "Nigerian membership of such a gathering," said Akinyemi in the NIIA Series 35 lecture "could provide the much needed avenue for the pent-up energies of its foreign policy elite at present bored and frustrated by some of the pettiness in intra-African relations."

NEW TRADE MINISTER ON MINISTRY'S ROLE

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 29 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by Chris Obinagwam]

[Text]

**N**IGERIA'S interests will not be compromised in working out trade agreements with its foreign trading partners, the Minister of Trade, Alhaji Samaila Mamman, has said.

Alhaji Mamman gave the pledge in an interview over the week-end in his office at the Federal Secretariat, Ikoyi, in Lagos.

He declared: "Any negotiations on trade agreements with any nation must be on equal basis and there should be no inferiority complex."

The minister, however, said that he was yet to fully study trade agreements between Nigeria and her trading partners.

Alhaji Mamman rejected impressions that the ministry's main function was the issuance of import licences.

According to him, the ministry is in charge of tourism, domestic trade and promotion of external trade.

The minister, he stressed also has the responsibility of monitoring agricultural and industrial products to ensure rationalisation.

He explained that import licences was introduced when the nation's foreign exchange earnings dwindled and the government had to put a check on importation of goods, adding that as Ministry of Trade, issuing import licences became its functions.

Asked how he intends to cope in the ministry where all the divisions are headed by military personnel, he smiled and said that "we are all Nigerians, I am just the boss."

Alhaji Mamman, said that "I do not expect any problem from anybody working in the ministry be they civilian or military."

He added that in the civil service like other organisations there is always hierarchy.

Alhaji Mamman left Lagos for Kaduna after the interview to hand over to his successor. He is expected back on Thursday.

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CSO: 3400/322

# GATT VIEWED AS TOOL TO EXPLOIT THIRD WORLD

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 26 Sep 86 p 1

[Editorial]

[Text]

THE latest round of negotiations among signatories to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in Uruguay has only provided another evidence of the triumph of super-power selfishness over the sustenance of freedom and fairness among nations of the world. Whatever the intentions behind GATT were, the truth is that today the world is heading for what the host country's foreign minister called "collective suicide" in trade relations. Another truth is that such a dire situation has come about in spite, some would say as a result, of the agreement.

The fate that has befallen GATT is in many respects similar to that which has rendered many other inter-

national regulatory bodies including the UN completely impotent. We would even say that GATT has lost more of its mediatory role since even its "prime movers" are unable to present the collective will which it needs to carry out its onerous responsibility. So we find the EEC kicking against the American position on agricultural subsidies and Japan warding off any moves to tamper with its trade surpluses under the banner of GATT.

Of greater concern however is the raw deal received by the developing nations. Having succeeded in turning GATT into an instrument for exploitation through quota restrictions and other protectionist measures, the industrialised countries

proceeded to manipulate commodity prices to complete the strangulation of primary producers most of which are in the so-called third world. The success of these designs is borne out by the fact of a 30 billion dollar drop (5.5 per cent) in the export earnings of developing nations last year.

Not surprisingly, the victims of this economic sabotage have indicated that they will not remain passive and are coming together to press for a more equitable world trade. They are pressing for a reversal of the protectionist policies already in place, a stop to additional limitations to free trade and an end to raw deals. They have our backing and deserve GATT'S.

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CSO: 3400/320

# DEFIANT YOUTH CORPERS INCUR NEW MINISTER'S WRATH

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 29 Sep 86 p 24

[Text]

YOUTH corps members undergoing their orientation course at the Federal College of Education (Technical), Akoka — Yaba, Lagos, are to spend extra one week at the camp. had to go on her knees pleading to be exempted from the drills, but the minister would not budge. She later underwent the exercise after everybody in the camp started to wonder if she was trying to disobey the minister.

An order to this effect was issued at the weekend by the Minister of Social Development, Youth and Sports, Air Commodore Bayo Lawal. The minister later jogged with the corpers before he left.

The minister gave the directive after the corpers had refused to do their drills in his presence without any reasons.

Stunned by this act of indiscipline exhibited by some of the corps members, Commodore Lawal insisted "I will stay here till I see all of you go through these drills. If not so, we will all sleep here."

He later demanded an explanation from the camp military commandant Captain R. C. Nnaji on why the corps members refused to do the drills which he described as a neglect of duties on the part of the officers handling the exercise.

A lady corps member

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CSO: 3400/322



PROFESSOR ENDORSES LIBYAN-STYLE 'SHURA'

Kano THE TRIUMPH in English 22 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by Shehu G. Durbunde]

[Text]

THE Deputy Vice-Chancellor of Bayero University, Kano Professor Muhammad Sani Zahraddeen has urged all muslims in the world to adopt the Libyan Arab Jamahiriyya's example of implementing the "Shura" (Consultation) in all issues affecting them.

Professor Zahrad-

deen made the call last Monday while delivering his address as the leader of the 29-member Nigerian delegation to the 6-day, third General Congress of the World Islamic Call Society at Tripoli, Libya.

He also urged all Muslims irrespective of ideological differences to come to the defence and propagation of

Islam.

Also speaking earlier, the Secretary-General of the Islamic Call Society, Dr. Ahmed Muhammad Sherif urged muslims to unite to defend their religion.

Dr. Sherif highlighted the purpose of the conference, which was to find ways of advancing the cause of Islam.

In this regard, the

society, he continued has been building schools, colleges and islamic centres all over the world.

Also speaking at the opening ceremony the Director, Arab League Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (ALESCO) urged muslims to strive hard to learn Arabic as the *lingua franca* of the muslim world.

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CSO: 3400/325

## COUNCIL OF ULAMA CONFERENCE OPENS

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 29 Sep 86 pp 1, 3

[Article by Aliyu Modibbo]

[Text]

THE Emir of Zaria, Alhaji Shehu Idris, has said Muslims would not accept any constitution that did not embrace Islam and Islamic social mobility.

Alhaji Shehu, opening a two-day conference of the Council of Ulama on political future as it affected Islam, in Zaria, said time had come for Islamic laws to be allowed to regulate the conduct of muslims in all spheres of their lives, while the respective customary laws be applied to non-muslims.

He explained that "Islam had provided ways of life for all muslims not leaving anything behind, as contained in the Koran.

Alhaji Shehu therefore, asked the conference to deliberate on a new society based on Islam which would be acceptable to Nigerians.

He said issues such as the framework of a new constitution, the type of government, legislatures both at federal and state levels, local government, traditional rulers, judicial system, Land Use Act and land matters should all be dealt with as it affected Islam.

The Secretary-General of the Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (NSCIA), Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki, Baraden Sokoto, noted that the Ulama instead of joining hands to fight the detractors of Islam, were busy fighting each other over the interpretation each of them gave to issues in Islam.

Alhaji Ibrahim expressed concern on how some of these

Ulama labelled and even called those who disagreed with their interpretation as 'unbelievers'.

He observed that there was nobody among them who could claim to know everything which Islam had laid down and who could say his interpretation was the most authentic and the correct one.

He said the situation worried the Jama'atu Nasril Islam (JNI) which was trying to see that the Ulama and muslims in this country were united.

The Baraden Sokoto said the best way to resolve this difference was for the ulamas to accept that no one person among them could claim to know everything.

He said they should study and follow only what they knew and direct any question (fatawa) which they lacked knowledge in, to the person who knew and who could only give a better interpretation.

President of the council, Dr. Hassan Gwarzo, the Grand Khadi of Kano State, noted with concern how Islam was suppressed and muslims were forced to accept the values systems alien to their way of life and against the Islamic jurisprudence.

He said muslims must be allowed to worship freely and apply the Sharia in every aspect of their lives without exceptions "because this is what the sharia stands for."

Dr. Gwarzo said many things which were detrimental to the survival of the coun-

try occurred because the sharia law was not applied.

He called on the council to ensure that total war was waged against adultery, alcoholism and usury and other vices.

He said Prophet Mohammed enjoined all muslims to be united and those in dispute were reminded that "the people who come before us were destroyed because they were unable to unite."

The Chairman and Chief Executive of Concord Press of Nigeria alhaji Moshood Abiola, Baba Adini of Yorubaland, reminded the ulama that when Prophet Mohammed died, the leadership of Islam was left in the hands of the ulama.

He said if the ulama did not agree among themselves, they confused the followers like me who always got seriously embarrassed by unnecessary disagreements.

He said he was in the battle line during the constituent assembly in 1979 and he saw the type of forces against Islam in Nigeria.

He said "we can defeat that force if we follow what Allah says in Koran and the Prophet in the Hadith", adding that "there is only one Koran and Hadith. There can be interpretation in one form or the other but there has never been a duplicate of any of those two documents."

He appealed to the ulama to come together.

A communique after the conference is being expected.

# PREACHING BOARD TO ENSURE COMPLIANCE WITH ISLAM

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 4 Oct 86 p 12

[Article by Adebisi Adekunle]

[Text]

**THE setting up of a board for preaching and establishment of Juma'at mosques in Sokoto State was to ensure that they were carried out in accordance with Islamic practice.**

Governor Ahmad Daku, inaugurating the board on Thursday said the board was not intended to prevent preaching or establishment of Juma'at mosques in any part of the state.

He said if strictly complied with, the edict setting up the board would ensure the establishment of peaceful co-existence in the society.

The governor added that in the new edict, a provision was deliberately inserted to allow room for appeal.

He said under the provision, any intending preacher who

thought that he was not fairly treated was free to appeal to the governor.

Also, any group of people who applied for establishment of Juma'at mosque and felt they were unnecessarily refused permission could appeal to the governor.

The governor who assured that all appeals would be carefully appraised in a just manner, pointed out that Sokoto State was not the only state where such edicts were enacted and successfully operated.

He explained that the whole idea of enacting the edict was to ensure peace and harmony in the state.

Governor Daku said to avoid unnecessary delay, local governments were empowered to establish an advisory committee of their own to help the board to carry out its function.

The board, according to the governor, would determine and regulate the qualification required for any person to become a religious preacher or Koranic commentator.

It would also conduct examinations and set standards for any persons desirous of becoming religious preachers or Koranic commentators, adding that it would also compile and approve religious poetry and songs that might be permitted in mosques and public places.

The governor said the board would also regulate and approve the type of religious poetry or songs for public consumption and

dissemination in public preaching or public places of worship.

It would recommend to the emirate council the establishment of Juma'at mosques.

The board, according to the governor, would recommend to the emirate council the suspension or cancellation of mosques registration certificates, adding that it would advise the emirate council and the state government on all matters affecting Koranic schools.

He said the committee was also empowered to co-opt any person deemed fit to participate in the functions of the board or to do any other thing which was necessary to effect the provisions of the edict.

## SURVEY REVEALS CONCERNS ON EVE OF ANNIVERSARY

Lagos SUNDAY TIMES in English 28 Sep 86 pp 1, 13, 21

[Text]

**N**IGERIA will be 26 on Wednesday. With many Nigerians, however, there is not much to celebrate.

A random survey carried out by the Sunday Times which sampled 360 respondents among the cross-section of the Nigerian populace revealed that many Nigerians will be celebrating this year's independence with mixed feelings.

The survey revealed that unemployment ranked highest among the many problems currently plaguing the Nigerian society.

Of the 360 respondents, 219 representing 60.8 per cent, view unemployment as critical, while 60 representing 16.7 per cent saw corruption in the society as next to unemployment.

Armed robbery was third in hierarchy of severity as 42 respondents representing 11.7 per cent while 27 respondents representing 7.5 per cent saw inflation as a serious problem to be reckoned with.

All other problems such as continued inflation, armed robbery and corruption are subsumed in unemployment, the respondents pointed out.

They blamed the problems on the shortcomings of previous administrations with 123 representing (34.2 per cent) of the total respondents.

Our survey found out that the main cause of corruption in the country was the lust for material wealth of most Nigerians, representing 46 or 38.3 per cent of the respondents.

Selfish attitude of Nigerians was viewed seriously as a second major cause of corruption in the country.

Of the 360 respondents, 99 representing 27.5 per cent saw corruption as a very serious problem of the society.

Nigerians are not satisfied with the current measures employed by the government aimed at finding solution to these major problems.

Not less 258 respondents representing 71.7 per cent said they were not satisfied with the government's approach at solving these problems.

Only 75, representing 20.8 per cent of the respondents opined they were satisfied with the current government measures aimed at solving the problems.

However, the present administration is averagely assessed.

Of the 360 respondents, 189 representing 52.5 per cent scored Babangida's administration as being average.

While 102 representing 28.3 per cent assessed it poor, 39 representing 6.7 per cent assessed it good and excellent respectively.

Babangida's administration had a pass mark on her human rights policy.

Of the 360 respondents, who were asked the most-striking achievement, 138 saw human rights policy of the present administration as unique.

Public Health and sanitation came next and economy and foreign

policy ranked equal as both had 33 respondents representing 9.2 per cent of the sample size.

The major problems facing the Nigerian society would be solved better by the military.

In all, 210 respondents representing 58.3 per cent opined that the military was a better option.

But 90, representing 25 per cent of the sample saw civilian as a better option.

Some respondents saw both the civilians and military as Nigerians who have similar orientation.

The 16.7 per cent who rejected both military and civilian systems claimed that unless there was a re-orientation of the Nigerian value system, these problems would continue to plague the Nigerian society.

On how people appraise our 26 years of independence Sunday Times talked to some people and these are their opinions.

Mr. F. T. Durand: On the negative side — there's been chaos. Our money is gone, the treasury empty. We have developed unwarranted high taste, and a perverted sense of value, which came alongside the oil boom.

There has been a lack of cohesive planning, leading

to the neglect of agriculture and the development of a mono-product economy. Consequently, administration of Produce Marketing Boards, hitherto the nation's money earner, became lax, leading to their eventually being scrapped.

Now, we find ourselves back-tracking towards agriculture; but efforts to revamp the sector is being curtailed by the Land Use Act, which ironically, was enacted to make land acquisition easier. Consequently, one finds that only the wealthy, have access to land.

Our 26 years of independence also witnessed the growth of various anti-social behaviour — skin bleaching, drugs and robberies, to mention a few. Also during the period, government became Army property.

On the positive side, the creation of states enhanced faster development geared towards even social, cultural and economic development. It also enhanced the discovery of manpower and mineral resources, as all the states became conscious of minerals in their areas, which they wanted to exploit, to generate revenue for development.

/9274

CSO: 3400/320

## POLICE BRACE FOR INCREASED OFFENSIVE AGAINST ARMED ROBBERS

Ikeja NEWSWATCH in English 22 Sep 86 pp 23,24

[Article by Wale Oladepo, Peter Ishaka, Sam Smith, Wura Osibogun and Daniel Akovwa]

[Text]

**N**athaniel Egharevba, a police sergeant, was on guard duty with two of his colleagues at the First Bank, Sabongida-Ora in Bendel State on August 11. It was a Monday with significant increase in the volume of business. The three police officers, therefore, had every reason to be on alert. Suddenly there was a stampede in the banking hall. The police officers scrambled for action at the sound of gunfire, unaware that the hunter was the hunted. Egharevba was shot in the head, and he died instantly. The bank robbers escaped with their loot, which included Egharevba's pistol and two Mark IV rifles they snatched from the dead man's colleagues.

The nation is on the ropes once again from the onslaught of armed robbers, but this time policemen are as tempting a target as ordinary people. This challenges the unwritten code in police-criminal relationship, which is that under no circumstances would the police tolerate attacks on its personnel. This is a universal understanding. In cases where criminals violate this code, police have been known to track down those involved. A notable case was the Boulos Enterprises pay robbery in Lagos in 1976, during which two policemen were killed. Police arrested the felons within two weeks.

Before Etim Inyang, the inspector-general of police, on the prodding of President Ibrahim Babangida, got his men moving against violent crime two weeks ago, no less than 10 policemen had died like chicken in the hands of armed robbers. In Bendel, where Egharevba was

killed, two other policemen — one in the mobile force and the other a general duty officer — were shot dead on August 15, at a check point in Benin City, the state capital. Still in Bendel, Lawrence Anini, now declared wanted by the police, led an operation against two police stations, during which two policemen were killed. Such was the arrogance of the criminals against law enforcement agents.

In Ondo, hitherto a serene state with few incidents of armed robbery, two policemen were reported felled by robbers. Three weeks after they wrote David Isang, the police commissioner, threatening to strike and kill policemen in the state, the daring armed robbers made good their pledge at Sobe police station on Sunday, August 24, and killed a police corporal. Police rifles and 106 rounds of ammunition were carted off by the gangsters. A week before the incident at Sobe, another police officer on duty at a road block in the state was shot dead. His rifle was taken away too. At Ilobu in Irepodun LGA of Oyo State, Sule Afolabi, a sergeant on duty at a check point, was shot dead by armed robbers. The fleeing robbers who drove a Peugeot 504 saloon car, escaped with Afolabi's rifle and that of his colleague who fled into the bush when the shooting started.

Armed robbers are everywhere, including hitherto untouched areas, and no time of the day is safe even as government has restricted movement of people from midnight till day break in Lagos, Bendel, Kwara and Benue states. Up country in

Borno, Munchi Aliyu Kurfi, the state police commissioner, said 12 persons have been killed by armed robbers within two months in Maiduguri, and that 29 robbery cases were reported. One of the victims was Ibrahim Kashim, son of Kashim Ibrahim, former governor of the defunct northern region, who was killed in his father's farm house.

Other states do not fare better. In Kwara, where Kunle Oladimeji, police public relations officer told *Newsweek* that the first half of the year had been calm in the state, armed robbery cases are now reported everyday. Aminu Malum-fashi, the state police commissioner, announced that 10 armed robbery suspects, among them four women, have been arrested. Recovered from them were a Peugeot 505 saloon car, a sub-machine gun, a pistol with 85 rounds of ammunition, knives and master keys.

A week after the special police operation started, Inyang had to reassure a bewildered nation that his men were up to the task. "No sacrifice will be considered too great on the part of the police to ensure a relatively crime free society," he said.

Giving an account of the first week of the special operation, Felix Musa, commissioner of police, force public relations officer, said that 130 robbery suspects have been rounded up by the special anti-robbery squad in Lagos alone, while 70 stolen vehicles have been recovered and assembled for identification. Police raided the house of a suspect on Bamishile Street, off Allen Avenue, Ikeja, and recovered a 380-calibre pistol together with 50 rounds of ammunition. Police are also cleaning up their own house. In Enugu, two officers who attempted to sell weapons to armed robbers for N3,500 were arrested.

State governors have also been giving the police plenty of encouragement. Michael Akhigbe, who moved into office as Lagos State governor three weeks ago, donated 12 motorcycles to aid police operations. Governor John Inienger of Bendel State implored the public to provide information to the police on the activities of armed robbers. The upswing in support for the force has improved the morale of individual policemen. They are generally more thorough and alert on the beat.

Marcus Ayeni, a corporal, told *Newsweek* that although armed robbers have made police a prime target, he is undaunted. He said that police now operate in groups, they are sufficiently armed, more effective but with inadequate communication facilities. Another policeman

on duty at a check-point in Lagos said: "The situation is grave; it is a matter of life and death for us; but I don't nurse any fear at all about the exposure of my life to robbers." He said if he could kill a robber, "it means the inspector-general may promote me to the rank of an inspector. But the government should make special provisions for families of policemen who may die at the battle front."

The fall-out of the police siege on armed robbers sent thousands of Lagosians trekking to their offices last Tuesday morning as many check points were mounted on almost all major roads. There was a traffic standstill everywhere and commuter buses were off the roads.

Although police insist that no curfew has been imposed, people have been forced to return home as early as 9.00 p.m. Night crawlers are worse hit and club houses are already feeling the pinch. Edet Umondia, manager of Klass club at Ikeja told *Newsweek*: "You can see for yourself. The government has placed those of us who operate in the night in a difficult position." At Dollaz club, five kilometres away, all-night disco dancing, the vogue before police decided to check night movement, is no more. Patrick Dackson, the club's supervisor, said about 75 percent of their guests no longer turn up and beer sales have dropped by half. Chicken George and McDonalds, leading snacks shops, have sparse customers as against the usual bustle of the "pre-curfew" days.

The early night is, however, a bonus to housewives. Ronke Osikoya welcomed the government crackdown but she derided the government for waiting until armed robbers got completely out of hand before policemen woke up. She has an ingenious solution: everybody should be allowed to carry a gun.

Can police sustain the tempo? Lekan Alabi, an assistant commissioner of police, said yes. Police received 100 walkie-talkies and 100 land rovers early in the month but Alabi said that arrangements are being made to further equip the police. This will include the recruitment of about 3,000 men this year. Alabi also explained that the plan is to reduce the ration of policemen in the country to population. At present, he said, there is one policeman to 1,000 Nigerians instead of the ideal ratio of 1 to 400 approved by the United Nations.

The dearth of policemen probably compelled the force to grudgingly sanction formation of vigilante groups to supplement police efforts. In many cases, the vigilante groups which are usually funded by tenants in their neighbourhoods where

they operate, are effective. At dawn last week Tuesday, the vigilante group in Mushin, a Lagos suburb, arrested a notorious man in the area as he carted away the motor parts that he removed from vehicles parked in a nearby mechanic workshop. Unlike the police, these vigilante groups use charms, daggers, dane guns, bows and arrows as weapons of battle. Their strongest weapon, as they all attested to, is their knowledge of the locality in which they operate. They know one another fairly well and can easily call for assistance by simply blowing their whistles.

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CSO: 3400/340



POLICE IN MAJOR DRIVE AGAINST CRIME

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 3 Oct 86 p 12

[Article by Andrew Orolua]

[Text]

**POLICE in Bauchi State have arrested 749 in a major drive against increasing crime in the last four weeks, Commissioner of Police, Alhaji Yusufu Dari, has said.**

He told newsmen that items worth several thousands of Naira were recovered in the raids.

He said most of the people were arrested for idleness, thefts, burglary and for being in possession of stolen goods, adding that 567 of them have appeared in court, 182 released, 356 awaiting trial and 211 already convicted.

The commissioner said 12,525 Naira have been realized in fines imposed by various courts on those convicted.

He said items recovered by the police included 59 radio/tape recorders, 20 television sets, 16 video machines, 10 table and standing fans, three generators, four grinding machines, eight refrigerators, a pumping motor, an electronic cooker, an electric motor and air conditioner.

Alhaji Yusufu said the government reservation area (GRA) police recovered 20

motorcycles, three motor vehicles suspected to have been stolen.

He said during one of the police raids, a search was conducted in the house of Alhaji Mohammed Dankunama following a tip-off and a video, four black and white television sets, a generator, a beller, a radio, a standing fan, a sewing machine, a ladies hand bag, a carton of car spare parts

and six window frames were found.

He said the suspects have also appeared in court for receiving stolen property. He said Alhaji Haladu Danbagobiri was arraigned in court for dealing in Indian hemp.

He appealed to the public to cooperate with the police and give information which could lead to the arrest of criminals.

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CSO: 3400/321

SECURITY AGENTS ROUND UP FORMER POLITICIANS

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 27 Sep 86 p 16

[Text]

SECURITY agents on Thursday whisked away to Lagos a number of ex-politicians who have been campaigning for the release of ex-governor of Kano State, Alhaji Mohammed Abubakar Rimi.

Sources said those picked up in the early hours of Thursday included Alhaji Lili Gabari, Alhaji Lawal Dambazau and Alhaji Sule Lamido.

Others were Alhaji Hamza Bichi, former Commissioner for Education, Alhaji Danjani Hadeja, former member of defunct House of Representatives and Alhaji Ammani Inuwa.

They were alleged to have been spearheading a campaign for the release of the ex-governor and were planning to obtain signatures of at least one million people to support their campaign.

About two weeks ago, the arrested former politicians publish-

ed an article in a national daily calling on President Ibrahim Babangida to release Mohammed Rimi.

Police Public Relations Officer in Kano, Superintendent Basil Nwadikusah, told the *New Nigerian* that he was not aware of the arrest of the former NPP leaders and no security officer at the SSS Department in Bompai, was ready to speak on the matter.

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CSO: 3400/321

# NLC FAILURES AT CHAMPIONING FOR LABOR'S RIGHTS

Ikeja NEWSWATCH in English 29 Sep 86 pp 37-39

[Article by Wale Oladepo, Tony Eluemunor, Bose Lasaki, Sam-Loce Smith, Wale Ajao and Wura Osibogun]

[Text]

**T**he Nigeria Labour Congress, NLC, is engaged in the cold rehearsal of its own swan song. Emasculated by government, beaten to the canvas by the worsening economy which snatches jobs of millions of its members, the NLC is face to face with decline and possibly, extinction in the prime of its life. As if these external forces are not sufficient drawbacks, the body, which is the apex for workers in the country, is being pushed easily to a quick crack by poor leadership and, most important, the division among its members and the affiliated unions.

If the present trend continues, the NLC would be finished in no time. Since the congress' demonstration of June 4 was botched by the government, rival factions comprising "democrats" and "marxist socialists" within the congress have intensified their rivalry which had dug a big raven within the workers' apex body. Last week, when they had another hot exchange, the so-called "democrats" stopped short of pronouncing another central labour body for the country. Such is the depth of rivalry and hatred between the factions, that labour analysts said the pronouncement was held back by lack of a legal backing for it.

P. Kiri-Kalio, heading the "democrats" at a conference on September 10, accused the "marxist socialist"-led NLC of steering "the organisation along the course of blind militancy and confrontation (with government), while all moderating elements are frustrated and shut out of the system." According to him, "the NLC is being driven garrulously into certain

destruction by a clique of mindless marxists who see their leadership role in the NLC as a call to champion the course of proletarian dictatorship."

Among the faction's nine-point accusations which the paper, signed by Kiri-Kalio, levelled against the NLC leadership are: the admission of Academic Staff Union of Universities, ASUU, and Senior Staff of Distributive Trade Employees into NLC; alliance with students and market women; alliance with eastern block labour bodies; bureaucracy at the NLC secretariat and an alleged personalisation of the quest for the presidency of the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity, OATUU, to favour Hassan A. Sumonu, former NLC leader.

A day before the conference of September 10, the "democrats," which claim to have 22 of the nation's 42 industrial unions that form the NLC, disrupted the meeting of the Central Working Committee of the congress in Lagos because of their vested interest in the OATUU presidency, the crisis in NUPENG and the NLC political blueprint which is acclaimed as the only effort in recent times by the congress, which has been regarded as noteworthy.

The political blueprint which the "democrats" would not touch, lampooned military governments for their past roles in the nation's policies and derided them for failing "to correct the *status quo* of government it succeeded while creating the majority of Nigeria's monied class." The blueprint also called for a socialist state, a workers' party, free education and

medical services as well as subsidized housing scheme.

The yawning gap between the rival factions of the NLC and the muscling of the congress by the government have made critics to wonder how the moribund body can protect workers' interest, let alone form a successful labour party or even lay claim to better ideas. Aliyu Sule, a former politician from Kwara State, said the NLC is having "misdirected aims and objectives."

More important, workers for whose interests the congress exists, have now discovered that the NLC is their god quite alright, but alas, it is one with clay feet. As the congress wavers and staggers, Emma George, father of five, retrenched from a drinks factory in Eket, Cross River State, described the NLC as a "body that now takes delight in making empty noise through the media to give the impression that it is fighting in defence of workers' interests." Fredrick Okoye, retrenched in March this year from Berger Paints, Ikeja, said the NLC is no more than a spent force tossed here and there by all those who are in control of economic and political powers. Okoye now shuttles between Lagos and Anambra States in search of a job and wonders how NLC's wranglings could salvage him.

They are not alone. Fidelis Okocha, a dock worker has been perhaps, more disappointed. He said many workers who had looked up to the congress for protection are now left at the mercy of their employers because NLC has proved incapable of protecting them.

Adeyemi Adeogun, professor and dean of the Faculty of Law, University of Lagos, blamed the NLC for failing all along to make provisions for sacked workers or suggest ways by which sacked workers can be re-engaged. "The NLC has failed to act as a shield to protect the Nigerian workers," he told *Newsweek*. He was not alone in condemning NLC's attitude to retrenched workers. Charles A. Oghuma, managing director of Eghiemai Industries Limited, Ikeja, told *Newsweek* that one would have expected the congress to make suggestions on workers plight. "It is very sad that the NLC leaders are politicians and self-interest seekers," he said.

However, there are others who still see some vibrance in NLC. Wahab Goodluck, former president of the defunct Trade Union Congress, believes in the usefulness of the congress. Soon after the release of the 25 leaders of the NLC, who were detained by government for planning a demonstration for June 4, Goodluck showered praises on them: "They have stood their ground, they have done their

best to show their indignation." Milton P. Ohwovoriole, president of the Ikeja branch of the Nigeria Bar Association, agrees with Goodluck on the potency of the NLC. He told *Newsweek* that given the circumstances of a military government, which imposes restrictive laws on expression, the congress fared well by, at least, trying to make its voice heard. "If the NLC had barked too much, nothing could have stopped the government from banning it entirely and that would be worse for workers," he said.

The Nigeria Labour Congress was born by decree 22 of 1978. Its birth climaxed the growth of organised trade unionism started in the country 74 years ago by the Nigeria Civil Service Union. The congress gave cause for joy as it pledged to "do anything within its constitutional limits to protect the interests of all or any of its affiliated organisations and individual members through promoting, defending and maintaining the rights and interest of labour; improving economic and social conditions of workers and advancing the cause of workers' education."

But eight years after its birth, the NLC has been going through rough weather, strong enough to crash it. More than three million workers, who pinned their hopes on the congress, have lost their jobs in the economic downturn. "The silence of the NLC over this pathetic situation questions its relevance," said Oghuma while Sule said the NLC leadership had failed the Nigerian workers so much that "talking about the congress package of failure amounts to making a bad use of one's time." A retrenched worker of the Nigeria Railway Corporation, NRC, sums up the congress' failure when he said it is "the passage of the NLC."

Perhaps, the most testy day for the congress this year was June 4. That was the day it set aside to hold a scaled-down rally, ostensibly to protest the killing of students and workers during the students' riot in Ahmadu Bello University, ABU, Zaria. Overnight, the congress leaders became unwilling guests at the Alagbon Close of the Force CID headquarters. It was a surprise move by the police, whose success at nipping the demonstration in the bud was pointed at by critics as proof of the weakness inherent in the leadership of the NLC.

G. Omoruyi Ero, NLC executive council member and president of the Nigeria Union of Railwaymen, however, put up a quick defence. He said the absence of continuity in the planned demonstration after the leaders were picked up did not reflect a weak point in the congress. According to him, what happened was in consonance

with his own philosophy that a good army general knows when to retreat and when to advance in a war. "If the workers had advanced at the point of the government action, there would have been calamity," he said.

His defence struck a cordial chord in Ali Chiroma, the congress president, who, in defence of the pounding the NLC is receiving said "mine are probably the darkest days for workers in this country." He, however, added a proviso in self defence, saying, "strike is, in fact, not my own individual approach to labour problems."

Internal rifts between the pro-west and the pro-east factions of the NLC came to the fore during the crisis with the government and has since taken phenomenal dimensions. When solidarity was most needed by the congress, the National Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas Workers, NUPENG, a pro-west faction, criticised the congress for planning to demonstrate against the ABU killing. In a press statement, the union described the plan as "senseless and reprehensible" and urged the federal government to probe the activities of the congress. Enas Dubre, leader of the NUPENG, failed in his bid to clinch the NLC leadership from Chiroma in the February 1984 election.

The ideological clash which has since become a ding-dong affair between the two groups headed for the worse when the International Transport Federation, ITF, conference was to hold in Lagos recently. The pro-east NLC leadership of Chiroma was alleged to have aided federal government in cancelling it as a counter attack on NUPENG. The ITF which has western sympathy is believed to be strong enough to put a dent on the apartheid regime in South Africa — if its affiliates world-wide agreed to boycott South African sea ports and ships as they had threatened to do. With the factional war still raging, Adeosun said he wonders how the congress could serve as a spring board for a workers' party.

The dust had hardly settled over the ITF conference in Lagos when the "democrats" masquerading as a NUPENG faction picked up trouble again in Port Harcourt. At the biennial delegates conference, officials of NUPENG and other "democrats" who are opposed to the NLC leadership lashed Chiroma. Richard Uzegbu, president of the faction, blamed the labour crisis on "the ignoble role which certain functionaries of the NLC have played." He accused NLC leadership of "rehearsing a confrontationist posture and meaningless

radicalism against government." Takai Shammang, president-general of National Union of Electricity and Gas Workers, NUEG, accused NLC leadership of "morbid ambition" to control labour unions."

They were not alone. Their companion in the trade, N.E.O. Nwanga, representative of a faction of National Union of Food Beverages and Tobacco Employees, condemned what he called "NLC's unholy alliance with the trade union advisory division of the Federal Ministry of Labour and Productivity to aid and abet intra-union crisis in the country." NLC's critics at the conference were legion. A.O. Laniyan, general-secretary of Metallic and Non-metallic Mine Workers Union said the congress had converted itself into "an instrument of ideological coercion with the ultimate aim of destabilising unions whose leadership they find difficult to coerce."

The NLC, through S.N. Muhammed, its head of information, said, "the fanning of an illusory ideological war in the congress is aimed at giving justification to their inordinate ambition to attract foreign sympathy and the rewards that usually go with it."

He accused the embittered leaders of dividing the congress because of "their personal failures at congress elections."

While the factional war continues, a disenchanted former officer of the congress, E.I. Amaechi, who until last year, was NLC's head of research and economic department, said "anyone conversant with the plans and activities of the congress would know that it is always determined to pull down any government it did not install, including the present one." As he wrote it in a national weekly, any event that has no bearing on wages, salaries or conditions of service should not draw demonstration from the NLC. Therefore, counselled government to "dissolve the NLC outright after a probe and deal with each industrial union on its own standing."

The federal government may not have listened to Amaechi. But it could have played on the internal rift between the NLC leadership divided into pro-west and pro-east factions to deal another blow on the congress when it promulgated Decree 17, Trade Unions (Miscellaneous Provisions) of 1986 which barred senior staff associations from affiliating with the NLC. It was a decree that reduced the membership and the financial strength of the NLC. Moreso, it forbids deduction of salaries of the senior staffers into NLC purse. However, the Academic Staff Union of Universities, ASUU, and the Shop and Distributive Trade Senior Staff

Association were the only senior staff associations affiliated with the NLC at the time. That was why the decree was adequately interpreted by Adeogun as a clamp-down on university lecturers, who were alleged to have influenced students of ABU.

The effect of decree 17 is, however, still debatable. Source close to the labour unions said NASU and the National Union of Shop and Distributive Trade Employees, NUSDE, both junior workers union, had earlier protested the inclusion of their senior colleagues in the same congress with them. Moreso, the two senior staff associations are said to have caused friction in the congress. Ali Chiroma has protested the removal of the senior staff associations, but that according to Seyi Adekeye, became necessary because he feared that another congress of senior staff associations, Federated Senior Staff Association of Nigeria, FESSAN, currently gaining momentum, may pose a threat to the unity of workers in the country.

Although the NLC may now be protesting the decrees which muscle the congress, the NLC had for long played into the hands of the federal government. While the federal government was reeling out draconian decrees against workers from 1984, the NLC was looking for money from all sources, including the

federal government, to sponsor the ill-fated conference of the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity, OATUU, in Lagos. It was a stick and a carrot game. The government gave money to the NLC but it was busy issuing decrees 16 and 17 of 1984 both of which put workers' interest on the tip of a needle. Decree 16 forbids a worker from taking government to court even if he was retired illegally while Decree 17 prevents a worker from fighting for his compensations if he is retired at a time the government did not feel obliged to pay. The NLC died long ago with this decrees according to Adeogun, who said the decree that banned senior staff association from NLC merely came to attend its burial. It was these decrees that David Mark used in killing workers strike in Niger State. David Jang, then of Benue State and Michael Akhigbe, formerly of Ondo, only failed to achieve the same results because workers in those states learnt some lessons from the failure of their counterpart in Niger State. Even then, thousands of Ondo workers eventually fell under the sledge hammer recently. The NLC is in dire need of coherence. It can put its house in order by stopping all its internal rivalry, dependence on government for funds and selfish interests manifested in their leaders' attempt to please their external sponsors in the east and the west for financial gain.

/9274

CSO: 3400/340

## MARKET FOR LIQUID NATURAL GAS REMAINS ELUSIVE

Ikeja NEWSWATCH in English 8 Sep 86 pp 34-35

[Article by Mashud Abubakar]

[Text]

Nigeria still can't find buyers for its liquefied natural gas. A government delegation which went to Western Europe last June returned home empty-handed. *NewsWatch* learnt that negotiations were inconclusive.

Rilwanu Lukman, Minister of Petroleum and Energy has indicated that the LNG project will come on stream in 1995. But that will be possible only if there is market for it. A task force, headed by Gamaliel Onosode, is shopping for customers. Last year, it made two trips to Western Europe. None proved fruitful. A British company, which showed some interest, was said to have given the task force two conditions, namely, that Nigeria must guarantee uninterrupted gas supply and that the consortium of Shell International, Elf, Agip and NNPC, equity owners of the LNG project, must not be given preferential treatment in the lifting of gas.

LNG requires a long term market contract of at least three years. That is why Lukman insists "we don't want to start developing the gas resources without assured customers."

President Ibrahim Babangida numbered the LNG among the priority projects of his administration when he spoke at a seminar on Nigeria's economic recovery in Lagos, last September. The federal government has already opened an escrow account from which it expects to fund the construction of the project at Bonny, Rivers State. Government will hold 60 percent of the equity shares in it.

Nigeria's proven deposit of natural gas is estimated at between 90 and 140 trillion cubic feet, making it one of the twelve countries with the largest natural gas

deposits. The Gowon administration decided on LNG project in the early seventies. Gowon himself told *NewsWatch* last month that the project was to have come on stream in 1980. "We had found enough buyers," he said.

The buyers are not there any more. Successive administration appeared to have put the execution of the project on the back-burner although at every available opportunity, government functionaries never failed to mention government commitment to it. This has proved a costly mistake.

Nigeria loses substantial revenue through gas flaring. About 360 million cubic feet of natural gas is flared daily in the country's oil fields. Between 1970 and 1983, about 35 billion cubic feet of gas went up in smoke. Experts estimated this at N2.7 billion a year.

Worried by this colossal waste, the Obasanjo administration decided to stop gas flaring. It promulgated decree 99 in 1979 to compel oil companies to reinject the gas. Under the decree, companies flaring gas after December, 1983, would be fined two kobo per 1,000 cubic metres of gas flared. This penalty represented 25 per cent of the royalty the government would have earned if the gas were either used or sold for commercial purposes.

In December, 1984, Tam David-West, then Minister of Petroleum and Energy, announced that the decree had been amended, suspending the penalty. Its effective date was also pushed to January, 1985. And the waste continues.

Prospects for a viable market are rather gloomy. Tor Meloe, chief economist of Texaco Oil Company, says the "window of opportunity" on gas sales had been shut against Nigeria in major interna-

tional markets. According to him, the United States, Japan and Western Europe are the major markets for natural gas. He says the US is not likely to import a significant quantity of natural gas in the next 15 years.

Japan has already arranged to meet virtually all its gas requirements from other oil-producing countries, notably, the Arab nations. Western Europe imports 20 percent of its gas but competition from established suppliers such as the Soviet Union and Algeria will make it difficult for Nigeria to secure a foothold.

Robert White, managing director, Mobil Producing Nigeria Limited, said the country's natural gas has no economic value because there is now no market for it. Experts say that Nigeria is a latecomer to the world market of natural gas and lacks the experience of hard bargaining that the market necessarily requires. Markets in North America and Western Europe are saturated with supplies from Abu Dhabi, Brunei, Algeria, Alaska, Mexico, Soviet Union and the Netherlands. Algeria has six LNG plants. Ivory Coast and Cameroun are also now in the market with their own natural gas.

Bleak as it is, the future holds out some hope for Nigeria's natural gas. David-West said at a public lecture in August last year that "we shall be able to exploit our gas resources for industrial, domestic and power generation." The present system whereby 75-80% of the national energy use is from oil, he said, definitely cannot continue. Domestic consumption will thus rise. There will be more gas turbine electricity generating plants. The recently commissioned gigantic thermal plant at Igbini, Lagos State is a good example. The nitrogenous fertilizer plant at Onne, Rivers State, the petrochemical projects under construction, iron and steel mills, some glass factories and breweries will use natural gas.

Lukman is equally optimistic. He said at a lecture on "Liquefied Natural Gas and Nigeria's Petroleum Policy" in June that Western Europe has the best market prospects for Nigeria's gas. He admitted that Western Europe currently oversupplied would remain so up to mid 1990s. But he said published data and direct contacts with buyers indicate potential scope in most countries of additional supply from new sources and Nigeria offers European buyers an opportunity to diversify their sources of supply.



PROGRESS OF CHAD BASIN OIL EXPLORATION

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 25 Sep 86 pp 1, 3

[Text]

THE Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), has spent nearly four million Naira on its exploration and drilling programme at the Chad Basin exploration area, Minister of Petroleum Resources, Alhaji Rilwanu Lukman, has said in Lagos.

The minister said three wells were planned for this year in the basin and that the second one was drilled to a depth of 4.663 kilometres before the well was terminated when it hit the basement.

Alhaji Rilwanu also said the corporation's data processing centre in Benin had recorded a huge success.

He said the first phase of the national hydrocarbon reserves evaluation project which involved the independent evaluation of reserves of about 30 selected Nigerian fields had been completed and

that second phase of the project took off with the commissioning of the National Hydrocarbon Reserves Evaluation Centre in Benin on September 16.

According to the minister, the four seismic crews working for NNPC, two of them wholly owned by the corporation, acquired a total of 1.154 kilometres of sub-surface data since the beginning of this year at an estimated cost of 4.6 million Naira.

He said Party X, based at Onitsha, had recently completed a seismic reconnaissance programme in the Okitipupa tar sand belt at a cost of about half a million Naira.

Alhaji Rilwanu also said plans were on hand to update

Party X seismic data acquisition equipment to sercel/368 with telemetry system before the end of the year.

Commenting on the reorganisation at the NNPC, the minister said the exercise was now being implemented and that movement of all sectors to six various operational base had now been completed.

He said the pipelines sector has its headquarters in Mobimi, Ogun State, refineries in Kaduna, petro-chemicals in Port Harcourt, oil gas in Benin, petroleum inspectorate and administration will remain in Lagos.

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CSO: 3400/323

NEW CRUDE LIFTING DEAL COMES INTO EFFECT

Kaduna SUNDAY NEW NIGERIAN in English 28 Sep 86 p 16

[Article by Muhammad Rabi'u]

[Text] The much-expected deal which would enable specific lifting of Nigerian crude for payment to contractors doing civil works at the Ajaokuta Steel Complex has become effective, the "Monthly Business and Economic Digest" published by the United Bank for Africa (UBA) Limited, Lagos has said.

In its recent edition, it said that revenues accruing from the crude sales would first be paid into the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation's (NNPC's) account at a London bank where it is to be reserved for settling due payments to contractors.

The newsletter said that the agreement deviated from the classical counter trade because it allowed crude lifting for direct payment for specific goods and that no goods were expected in return.

It added that the deal was almost as good as cash payments and also assured the contractors of settlement of bills from escrow account.

The newsletter said that the construction companies benefitting from the deal included Fougereolle Dumez (French) and Julius Berger (West Germany).

It further said that progress on the deal was earlier interrupted because of the refusal of lifting firms to allow the NNPC apply its netback pricing formula to the crude sales.

New firms have now been engaged for lifting, according to it.

The newsletter also said that the French authority signed an agreement in August to provide a FF,4bn term cover for the construction of Nigeria's 500 million dollars fourth refinery at Alesa-Elеме near Port Harcourt.

It named Spie Batignolles as the French partner of the Franco-Japanese consortium working on the refinery.

Meanwhile, the newsletter quoting a recent International Energy Agency (IEA) report, said that there are possibilities of a large market for Nigeria's gas both in the USA and in Western Europe.

It said that the petroleum resources minister, Alhaji Rilwanu Lukman recently confirmed this in Lagos saying that exportation of the country's Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) to overseas markets would start in 1990.

The newsletter quoted the minister as saying that "market investigations extended to USA, Japan, Brazil and Western Europe indicate that of the potential gas market, Western Europe offers the best prospects for Nigeria's LNG at this time."

It said that investigations so far reveal that Nigeria's geographical location is an advantage when compared with the locations of other suppliers of gas to Western Europe such as Algeria, Norway and Soviet Union.

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CS0: 3400/324

# WARRI, KADUNA PETROCHEMICAL PLANT DELAYS

London AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST in English 27 Sep 86 pp 13-14

[Text]

Carbon black and polyvinyl chloride plants being built at Warri will not come on stream until early 1987 because of a shortage of raw materials, **Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC)** managing director Aret Adams has said.

Adams adds that although three shiploads of raw materials had arrived, they were not cleared because of "red tape." He expressed hope that import licences for the materials could be revalidated.

Inadequate power supplies at Warri refinery have caused further delay. **Lummus Crest** of France, which is managing contractor at the carbon black plant, is arranging for supply of a gas turbine generator to rectify the shortage, thereby allowing the plant to come on stream by the end of first-quarter 1987.

The Kaduna petrochemicals project, also being installed for NNPC, is behind schedule too, AED understands. The linear alkyl benzene plant cannot come on stream until Japan's **Chiyoda** completes installation of a benzene plant. Chiyoda won its contract in October 1985 after NNPC reversed an earlier decision to import benzene requirements from abroad (AED 26:10:85). The plant is unlikely to start operating until the second half of 1987, AED understands.

Potential customers for the Warri and Kaduna petrochemical plants are concerned about the delay. **Polyfibre Industries** of Kaduna, which opened a N 10 million (\$7 million) polypropylene fibre and yarn plant this year, had hoped to order its raw material requirements from NNPC; already it has had to suspend operations because it cannot obtain imported raw materials.

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CSO: 3400/236

NEGLECT OF COAL INDUSTRY, MINERS ALLEGED

Kano THE TRIUMPH in English 22 Sep 86 p 7

[Article by Goddy Eke]

[Text]

MORE than 3,000 workers of the Nigerian Coal corporation Enugu have sent a passionate appeal to the federal military government over non-payment of their salaries for the past nine months.

The workers, looking haggard and miserable while marabing their orded to the Triumph claimed that they received their November

and December 1985 salaries only recently.

Some of the workers who pleaded anonymity said they had to withdraw their children from schools because of "our inability of pay the normal school fees along with recently imposed 50 Naira education levy by the state government,

providing food even once in a day for our families have become a near impossibility while we have had to watch our children die of diseases as we can no longer afford the bills in the hospitals.

"In fact, many of our member have died as a result of this pathetic situation". They further stressed in woeful tone.

allowances and gratuities.

On horo the situation came to be so many of the workers blamed the government for not releasing subvention to the corporation. They argued that there was no justification for its (government's attitude "since coal is doing well in the international market"

Narrating his ordeal, one of the workers revealed how his new born baby was detained along with the mother before he could raise the medical bill of 250 Naira.

Dr. was further gathered that those retired since 1984 had not been paid their pensonal

The neglect of the coal industry has made min-cemeat of the government's much vaunted commitment to export promotion since coal could have served as an important source of foreign exchange earning, especially now that the future of oil is uncertain", said one of the coal workers.

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CSO; 3400/323

# GRAINS BOARD OPTIMISTIC OVER MODEST PROFIT

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 26 Sep 86 p 9

[Text]

THE Nigerian Grains Board (NGB) has expressed optimism that it would "make a modest profit" of about 9,115,861 Naira for the 1985/86 purchasing season.

The acting General Manager, Alhaji Abubakar Raji, said at a press conference in Minna on Tuesday that it had become possible to anticipate profit because for the first time the selling prices of grains in the board's custody were higher than the "take over prices" from farmers.

He said the board acquired a

loan of 99,526,026,923 Naira from the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) this season with which it purchased 178,883 tonnes of assorted grains from farmers the market values of which he puts at 107,651,183 Naira.

Alhaji Abubakar said the board had 435 tonnes of paddy rice which it bought at 825 Naira per tonne from farmers to be sold at 2,200 Naira per tonne. It has also 39,594 tonnes of maize which it

bought at 567 Naira per tonne to be sold at 620 Naira per tonne.

Other grains include guinea corn, millet and sorghum of which the board had altogether 138,854 tonnes bought at 611 Naira per tonne to be sold at 660 Naira per tonne.

He said the Nigerian Grains Board has so far received 184,028,923 Naira as purchasing loan from CBN since its inception in 1977.

He said as at the end of November 1985, 46,204,071 Naira was still outstanding against the board because a directive to the board through letter No. FLD/141/S4/Vol.5/891 of April 14, 1982 to purchase grains from farmers at 290 Naira a tonne and sell it at 240 Naira.

The general manager said though government directed the board to sell the grains at subsidised prices, poultry industry did not pass on the subsidy to consumers of their product.

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CSO: 3400/322

# EFFORTS AT IMPROVED AGRICULTURAL VARIETIES DETAILED

Kaduna SUNDAY NEW NIGERIAN in English 28 Sep 86 pp 1, 5

[Article by Clement Unegbu]

[Text]

CURRENT efforts by governments in the country towards increasing food production have received a big boost.

This follows recent breakthroughs by indigenous research institutes which have now developed several high yield and disease-resistant crops.

The facts about the research findings were made available to the *Sunday New Nigerian* by the Ministry of Science and Technology which is the supervising ministry.

SNN learnt that the National Root Crops Research Institute (NRCRI), Umudike, has developed five varieties of yams that are expected to be tolerant to diseases like yam blight. All the varieties have been tested and found to be high yielding.

Further researches by the institute are reported to have resulted in the discovery of six varieties of cocoyams said to be resistant to certain diseases and pests.

The source revealed that NRCRI has now come up with about a dozen varieties of cassava which are highly tolerant of cassava mealybug and green spidersmite, the two pests that have been behind the destruction of tonnes of the root crops annually.

Two other varieties of cassava are reported to have been discovered by the Kainji Lake Research Institute (KLRI), New Bussa.

The two institutes — NRCRI and KLRI — between them have also developed 20 varieties of Irish and sweet potatoes.

Experiments on increase of rice production has led researches at the National Cereal Research Institute, NCRI and KLRI, to the development of nine varieties of rice.

The Institute of Agricultural Research, (IAR) Samaru-Zaria, is credited with the discovery of 10 different varieties of guinea corn (sorghum) whose yield is said to be 112 per cent above other varieties being planted in the area.

It was learnt that the new varieties are suitable for the sahel, Sudan Savanna and the northern areas of Nigeria in addition to the fact that they are all resistant to striga, a disease that has been ravaging the crops.

Also developed, according to our sources are 20 varieties of cowpeas which are reported to be not only high yielding but also resistant to pests and diseases.

The discoveries were made by NCRI, Ibadan, IAR, Zaria, and KLRI, Kainji respective-

ly.

According to SNN sources, NCRI, KLRI and IAR have successfully developed 20 varieties of high-yield maize.

Other high-yielding crops discovered by the institutes are 12 varieties of soyabeans by IAR and nine varieties of groundnut by IAR and KLRI respectively. The discoveries also covered tea, cocoa, oil palm, kola and coffee as well as tomatoes and okra among others.

Speaking on the activities of the 23 research institutes under his ministry, the Minister of Science and Technology, Professor Emmanuel Emovon, said that their efforts were aimed at making Nigeria self-sufficient in food production.

On the yearly wastage of foodstuffs involved in their movement from the farms to consumers, the minister announced a range of storage structures for housewives, farmers and industrialists which had been designed for the conservation of food items to prevent further wastage.

He also announced that the research institutes had developed various mechanical devices for the purpose of "promoting efficiency and removing druggery in the agricultural sector."

## MINISTER OPTIMISTIC ABOUT ECONOMY IN FUTURE

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 24 Oct 86 p 5

[Text]

HARARE — Zimbabwe's Finance, Economic, Planning and Development Minister has painted a glossy picture of the country's economy by 1996, but warned against over-population.

Given an annual average growth rate of 5.1%, Zimbabwe's gross domestic product, at 1985 prices, would rise to over Z\$13 500m by 1996, Bernard Chidzero said yesterday.

The gross domestic product was Z\$5 081m in 1985.

Chidzero said: "Another indicator is that the per capita income will be about Z\$600 in 1980 prices, or double this figure in current price terms, Z\$1 200, compared to Z\$460 and Z\$800 in 1986."

He compared Zimbabwe's industrial base in 1996 to some south-east Asian countries, such as Korea, and South American nations.

He said: "We would still be far behind the average per capita incomes of industrialised countries, but much better than many developing countries."

However, the country's population would have grown to more than 10-million unless it was curbed by more vigorous family planning programmes.

The present population growth rate of 3.1% was above the world average.

Chidzero said: "By 1996, more than 100 000 jobs a year will need to be created in the formal sector."

Projections were that Zimbabwe would have become more integrated with the world economy and "at the same time, a considerable economic power in the region, even after the demise of apartheid".

These projections were based on the first Five Year Development Plan, which was more long-term than its name implied.

Chidzero said: "Much depends on what we export and at what cost." He added that the security of Mozambican routes was of paramount importance.

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CSO: 3400/326



MATABELELAND PEOPLE URGED TO HELP TROOPS FIGHT DISSIDENTS

Harare THE HERALD in English 20 Oct 86 p 1

[Text] THE people of Matabeleland must co-operate with security forces in the fight against dissidents, the Minister of Information, Posts and Telecommunications, Cde Nathan Shamuyarira, told a rally yesterday.

Addressing a rally at Mahole business centre in Filabusi district, Cde Shamuyarira said although there had been a lull in dissident activity at one time, they were now on the increase.

People had to co-operate with the security forces in their efforts to eradicate the dissident menace.

Given the will, he said, this could be achieved because he had just learnt that two weeks ago a dissident was killed by a civilian in the Filabusi area.

"Even though the dissidents have guns, you can overpower them with your spears and axes if you are determined to do it. Moreover, once you have started co-operating with the security forces, the Government will deploy more of them to drive the bandits across the Limpopo River to their masters," he said.

The minister said once unity had been reached leading officials of Zanu (PF) and Zapu would address joint rallies throughout Matabeleland to demonstrate that they were now really united.

Cde Shamuyarira said Government officials should attend all rallies being held in their areas because they might be asked to answer questions from the public relating to their departments.

The minister had asked the audience to air their grievances and answered questions. He also asked Government officials present to answer some queries.

Cde Shamuyarira said it was mandatory that Government officials should attend rallies in their areas because this would enable them to know the problems people were facing.

The other major reason, he said, was that officials, especially those who had once belonged to minority parties, would get the right orientation.

People at the rally complained of a shortage of food, increasing stocktheft, high prices charged by shop-owners, inadequate furniture and roofing material for schools, insufficient agricultural extension workers and the need for skills training for adults.

They also called for the reintroduction of the food-for-work programme.

Cde Shamuyarira assured the people that the Government would not allow any of its citizens to starve. And food would be arriving today.

/13046

CSO: 3400/350

## MASHONALAND GOVERNOR OUTLINES PROVINCE'S PLANS

Harare THE SUNDAY MAIL in English 12 Oct 86 p 11

[Report on interview with Mashonaland governor Joseph Kaparadza by Tendayi Nyakunu; date and place not given]

[Text] **THE Mashonaland Central Provincial Governor, Cde Joseph Kaparadza, would like to see unity among the masses in Zimbabwe in order to help speed up the effective implementation of the country's Five-Year Development Plan.**

In an interview with The Sunday Mail, Cde Kaparadza said: "This would obviously speed up the process of bringing about a one-party state, which, once established, within the Zimbabwean context, should in turn speed up the effective establishment of development planning to strengthen the implementation of all segments of the Five-Year Development Plan."

The 37-year-old Governor who is married with five children — two boys and three girls — said that the five-year plan for his province would call for the spending of \$155 million if it were to be successfully implemented.

Cde Kaparadza who was born in the Dzveke area of the Dotito communal lands had his first brush with politics in the early 1960s when he was still a pupil at a boarding school, through influence from community elders.

"I became politically active in 1968 soon after my 'O' levels when I was teaching in the Mount Darwin area and became

involved in the recruitment of Zanu (PF) cadres in the early 1970s. I was then employed as a council secretary of the former Makusengwa (Rushinga) — Dotito (Darwin) council," he said.

Cde Kaparadza became more involved in the recruitment of cadres when the North-East operation zone was opened and soon after joined the mass mobilisation of the people in preparation for the 1980 general elections, in which he was chosen as one of Zanu (PF)'s candidates for Mashonaland Central constituency. Two years later, he was elected the province's chairman. That same year he was appointed Deputy Minister of Water Resources and Development.

In recognition of his service to the party and the province, Cde Kaparadza was elected a member of the ruling party's central committee at the party's historic second congress held at Borrowdale in Harare in 1984. He was appointed Governor of Mashonaland Central Province that same year.

The province's annual budget for the 1986-87 financial year is some \$35 million, the bulk of which is to go towards the development of agricultural production which Cde Kaparadza has made the priority development area, followed by education, energy, water resources and development, agro-industrial development, health and social welfare, community development and transport and telecommunications.

"Education and employment are to be combined if we are to develop successfully. Therefore we need income generating projects which create employment for the ever-increasing numbers of school-leavers. At the same time, we need to look at housing and conservation, sports and recreation if we are to have a secure and healthy province. Small-scale and large-scale mining concerns have to continue to be developed in order to enhance the general development of the province."

Cde Kaparadza said that the main constraints facing the province, whose major industry was agriculture, was the availability of equipment like tractors which were needed to increase tractor tillage units, "which are presently inadequate".

"During the harvest season, transport to the depots becomes a serious problem in certain areas of the province and this has to be improved if we are to become a successful agriculture province. In other remote areas, as well, we need to provide livestock to help diversify our farming operations."

Turning to education, Cde Kaparadza said that the various responsible authorities were working for the province's teaching staff. "We hope to build about 2 233 teachers' houses in the next five years, at a cost of more than \$18 million."

Classrooms also had to be built to meet the ever-rising enrolment numbers and the province expected to build about 1 345 additional classrooms in an effort to reduce hot-seating.

"The additional classrooms should cost us about \$30 million and, at the same time, we require more secondary schools to meet the current demand for these schools and reduce the distance between the secondary schools. In other words, bring them closer to the people and for that, we have planned 50 more secondary schools. Due to the increase in the number of secondary schools, we need to have more secondary schools offering sixth form places and for that we have requested seven more sixth form secondary schools within the next five years to add to the present three."

Cde Kaparadza noted that the number of untrained teachers remained very high in the province and called for the establishment of dual teacher training colleges in the province in order to alleviate the current shortage of trained teachers.

On health, Cde Kaparadza said that they

needed more village and farm health workers in order to combat and prevent disease in the province. "Although we have a general shortage of medical personnel it is the mid-wives that we are desperately in need of."

The province expects to have successfully installed electricity at Dotito and Muzarabani Rural Service Centres, and Mushumbi Pools Growth Point in the next five years.

"Electrification will continue in the other rural service centres and later to the villages as villagisation becomes a reality."

Construction of large and small-scale dams was also a priority of the province's development plans as, for instance, villagisation would bring about the need for piped water. Large scale dams would also be used for irrigation purposes in order to enhance the province's agricultural output and for industrial and mining purposes.

Financing of community income generating projects still remains a problem in the 27 000 km province with a population of about 630 000.

"However, community participation is so good that progress in the establishment of small-scale industries continues at a very encouraging pace."

Youth development project continued to be vigorously pursued amidst financial constraints, but there was light at the end of the tunnel, Cde Kaparadza said.

"We are also developing our sports, although, we lack equipment but we hope to overcome the problems as our projects become more and more streamlined."

Cde Kaparadza said that progress was being made in the provision of telecommunications links through the micro-wave towers, but he lamented the fact that lack of funds was hindering the maintenance of the existing road network.

"The demand by individual applicants to use telecommunication facilities was growing and the automatization of the existing exchange facilities needs to be speeded-up to improve telecommunications," he said.

Cde Kaparadza who took time off his busy schedule to talk to us said he hoped to accomplish most of these plans through community participation. "As long as people are made aware of the fact that development is for their own benefit, then we have half solved the development problem."

The National Five-Year Plan will be implemented through annual plans in which the key role will be placed upon the Central Government Budget and the Public Sector Investment Programme (PSIP), said Governor Kaparadza.

The Government, therefore, will provide finance for 54,0 percent of the planned PSIP which totals \$4 513 million. Two-thirds of this amount will be funded through foreign loans and aid. Government plans to fix a certain percentage of its revenue for PSIP financing in order to stabilise its funding and planning. In the initial years this process will be constrained by the existing wide gap between revenue and recurrent expenditure. The planned reduction of this gap will make possible improvement in the self-financing of PSTP.

## COOPERATION AMONG CO-OPS PRAISED

Harare THE SUNDAY MAIL in English 12 Oct 86 p 8

[Article by Basil Sithole]

[Text]

**IN a tangible demonstration of success, Simukai Collective Co-operative in Seke, last week donated a grinding mill worth \$4 000 to another co-operative — newly-formed agricultural co-operative near Gweru.**

This is believed to be the first time in the history of the co-operative movement in the country that there has been co-operation between co-operatives.

Simukai has now acquired a new electrical grinding mill which is being used by the members of the co-operative, the local community and workers from the surrounding farms.

The gift grinding mill was handed over to the chairman of the Simba Revanhu Co-operative, 90 kilometres from Gweru. Simba Revanhu was established in June and the members are still living in tents. The small ceremony was attended by officials from Zimbabwe Project and the provincial co-operative officer for Mashonaland East, Cde Elijah Tusso.

"The grinding mill has been in use for the past 3½ years and our giving it to this co-operative does not mean that we no longer wanted to use it. We thought it was ideal to give it to someone who was in need of it," said the chairman of Simukai, Cde Andrew Nyathi.

Simukai is run by former Zipra soldiers who have vowed to make the co-operative viable. Some time last year 10 members were expelled from the co-operative for hampering progress and alleged greediness.

Speaking to The Sunday Mail, Cde Nyathi said that the co-operative was looking for two more members.

The co-operative celebrated its fifth anniversary two months ago. "The situation has been changing gradually and the productivity of the co-operative has improved tremendously compared to the last four years although we have had some problems," he said.

Last season the co-operative reaped about 2 500 bags of maize, 4 tonnes of groundnuts and expects to reap another four to five tonnes per hectare of wheat. At least 40 hectares of wheat were under irrigation in the last season.

The co-operative also boasts one of the most impressive pigsties in the country, selling about 500 pigs yearly.

This is expected to be increased to about 1 200 pigs a year with the building of a new pigsty. "We will be reviewing our production and needs in two years' time and this will enable us to look at our production critically.

"With the announcement of the new producer prices we hope also to grow sunflower and soyabean," he said.

Last year's crop of soyabean was destroyed by the April rains and this is now being used as stockfeed for the pigs and a herd of 274 cattle. Cde Nyathi said that he expected 50 more calves before the start of the season.

"We hope that we will be able to stand on our own feet within the next coming few years, raise the standard of living of our members and be able to pay our members regularly."

"Over the past four years we have been depending heavily on borrowed money and the profits we have made have been ploughed back as investment," said Cde Nyathi.

The co-operative has a bonus system designed to encourage the members towards greater productivity, those members that have produced more than their target also get a second bonus. "We want our members to be more responsible towards their jobs."

The problems between the local communities and the co-operative have now been joined out. Fights between the two were common.

The co-operative is also working very closely with Agritex officials in the various aspects of farm management.

/13046

CSO: 3400/350

NP MP SAYS RSA WOMEN MUST UNITE FOR PEACE

Johannesburg THE STAR (Metro) in English 23 Oct 86 p 11M

[Article by Kate McKinnell]

[Text]

The sophisticated onslaught of external forces was hindering the building of bridges between South Africans, said Dr Rina Venter, National Party MP.

Speaking at a recent Meeting of Women in Klerksdorp she said she and others had been calling for some time for South Africans to stand together.

But, she said, this was being made impossible by forces operating in all circles including white politics and the black community.

"Black women who are willing to speak to their white counterparts are being intimidated. Their democratic rights are being suppressed, while there is a deliberate attempt to create feelings of mistrust in the black community.

"Radical elements cannot afford for the voices of black women who wish to negotiate to be heard.

"My impression is that if South African women meet to build bridges, we make impossible the efforts of those who wish to overthrow our country," said Dr Venter.

She said now the most important task for women was to join, build bridges and take a stand on what they wanted for South Africa.

Women had to get to know, respect and accept each other's aspirations and concerns, and they had to work for equal opportunities and freedom for all South Africans.

"Our society needs a therapist to help it overcome its insecurities and prejudices, and I think women are well equipped for this role".

/9274

CSO: 3400/331

SOUTH AFRICA

BUS FARE INCREASES SPARK VIOLENCE, WARNINGS

17.5 Percent Hike

MB311409 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1209 GMT 31 Oct 86

[Text] Johannesburg, 31 October, SAPA--Commuters protesting against PUTCO [Public Utility Transport Corporation] bus fare increases hurled stones at buses in KwaNdebele area of Eukeloorn, about 80 km northeast of Pretoria yesterday, causing extensive damage, a PUTCO spokesman said today. Security forces, who were also attacked, fired teargas but no one was injured or arrested and the mob dispersed after PUTCO officials held discussions with them. The mob smashed windows of at least 150 buses, the spokesman said.

The company is hiking its fares by 17.5 percent tomorrow.

The spokesman said bus services to KwaNdebele today were normal and there were no reports of disturbances in other areas where PUTCO operates. "The service this morning was normal," he said.

A spokesman of the Congress of South African Trade Unions today described the increase as "another burden on the community." "If there are no protests on the streets, its because of continuing repression," he said.

The Azanian Peoples Organisation said today PUTCO "would find itself facing a bitter battle from the community." Without giving more details, a spokesman of the organisation said the black community pledged during street committee meetings to "resist" the new increases. "The situation in the black townships is very desperate. We're definitely opposed" to the increases "because a lot of people are unemployed and losing jobs," the spokesman said.

Buses Damaged; Ridership Down in Soweto

MB030847 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0837 GMT 3 Nov 86

[Text] Johannesburg 3 November, SAPA--Less than half the normal amount of commuters were using PUTCO buses in Soweto this morning wehre three of the buses were petrol bombed and six other buses hijacked as a result of the PUTCO bus fare increase which came into effect at the weekend. A PUTCO spokeswoman said a bus was totally destroyed, 100 PUTCO bus windows were broken and 15 bus tyres were slashed in Soweto this morning. No injuries were reported.

A number of incidents took place at the Baragwanath Hospital bus terminus at the weekend where attempts were made to petrol bomb four buses. The tyres of six buses were slashed, she said.

Only 40 percent of the normal amount of commuters were on PUTCO buses operating in Soweto today.

Ticket sales in the entire western area, including Soweto and Wembley, had dropped to between 10 and 15 percent. However, the service had not been withdrawn, the spokeswoman said.

PUTCO bus fares were increased by 17.5 percent in the Transvaal and by 15 percent in Natal.

In the Wembley area buses were 90 percent full, said the spokeswoman.

In the Wynberg/Edenvale/Boksburg/Springs areas bus services and ticket sales were normal and no buses were damaged.

In the Pretoria area bus services were normal and no buses were damaged. A figure for ticket sales was not available for this area as they were being monitored throughout today.

PUTCO had already met the government regarding an increase in its subsidy to the bus company and "got the best we could," she said.

Many PUTCO bus users said they would be using taxis or private vehicles today as it appeared to be cheaper on some routes than the bus service.

Thousands of pamphlets were distributed in Soweto at the weekend calling for a bus boycott.

/12232

CSO: 3400/359



DAILY MARKS 9TH ANNIVERSARY OF CLAMPDOWN ON BLACK RESISTANCE

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 19 Oct 86 p 4

[Article by Zb Molefe]

[Text]

SUNDAY marks the ninth anniversary of the government's October 19 clampdown on black resistance.

Sunday also sees this country entering the 130th day of the second state of emergency of 1986.

On this day nine years ago, former Justice Minister Jimmy Kruger clamped down on 18 – mostly black consciousness – organisations and three publications.

On this day nine years ago, *The World* and the *Weekend World* under the editorship of present *City Press* editor Percy Qoboza and the Christian Institute mouthpiece *Pro Veritate* were banned.

The organisations banned were: Black People's Convention, SA Students' Organisation, SA Students' Movement, Union of Black Journalists, Black Community Programs Limited, Black Parents' Association, Soweto Students' Representative Council, Black Women's Federation, National Youth Organisation, Border Youth Organisation, Eastern Province Youth Organisation, Medupe Writers' Association, Natal Youth Organisation, Transvaal Youth Organisation, Western Cape Youth Organisation, Zimele Trust Fund and Siyazinceda Trust Fund and the Asseca (an educational body).

On this day nine years ago, East London's *Daily Dispatch* editor Donald Woods, former Christian Institute director Dr Beyers Naude, Christian Institute Cape director Rev Theo Kotze, Christian Institute administrative director Brian Brown, *Pro Veritate* editor Cedric Mayson, Ravan Press head Peter Randall and Cape Town Anglican priest David Russel were banned.

On this day nine years ago, Soweto Teachers' Action Committee of Six members Aubrey Mo-koena, Curtis Nkondo and

Fanyana Mazibuko, Percy Qoboza and *Weekend World* news editor Aggrey Klaaste, Rev Sman-galiso Mkatshwa, George Wauchope and BCP members Kenny Rachidi and Rev Drake Ntshenkeng were detained.

According to the *Survey of Race Relations in South Africa* of 1977, 49 white people and 119 black people had been detained by the end of November 1977.

On November 30, 1977, 714 people were being held without trial, according to the *Survey of Race Relations*.

But what has happened since that "black Wednesday" nine years ago?

● Anti-apartheid organisations regrouped, with massive growth among community organisations, trade unions and student groups. For instance, the banning of the SA Students' Organisation saw the formation of the Congress of SA Students – banned last September – and the Azanian Students' Movement.

● Repression has intensified – for example, about 20 000 South Africans have been detained

under the current emergency regulations, according to Cape Town's Repression Monitoring Group.

This means 84 people have been detained each day.

- The United Democratic Front – formed in August 1983 – has been declared an affected organisation.

- The Congress of SA Trade Unions, with a membership of 700 000, and the Azactu/Cusa worker federation, were formed.

- The United States imposed sanctions on SA.

- The Internal Security Act of 1982 replaced the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Suppression of Communism Act of 1953, the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956 and sections of the General Laws Amendments. The Act served to consolidate all security legislation. Other security legislation passed were the Protection of Information Act, Intimidation Act, and the Demonstrations in or near Court Buildings Prohibition Act.

- Boycotts and demonstrations in schools affected about 7% of the school population. In August 1984, for example, demonstrations affected

800 000 schoolchildren.

This week a number of organisations were preparing services to commemorate the October 17 clampdown.

The Media Workers' Association of SA – which meets this weekend in Soweto for its fifth annual national congress – will have as one of its tasks a spotlight and reflection on "black Wednesday".

As one Johannesburg journalist put it last year: "By banning black consciousness organisations, Pretoria had hoped – as in March 1960, when it outlawed the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress – to deal a crippling blow to the struggle against apartheid and for majority rule."

But after nine years, resistance has not been crushed.

Maybe the government should have listened to the Institute of Race Relations in September 1984 when it called for the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and the 18 black consciousness organisations.

For this call can still be heard loud and clear in the townships.

/9274

CSO: 3400/327

DOMESTIC WORKERS START TO ORGANIZE UNIONS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 22 Oct 86 p 4M

[Article by Mike Siluma. First paragraph THE STAR's comment.]

[Text] For years domestic workers--although they do as important a job as anyone else--have been regarded as the forgotten section of the South African workforce, with no statutory protection. Now domestics, estimated at a million countrywide, are beginning to organise and fight for their rights. Mike Siluma reports.

They are a regular feature of the white South African lifestyle and indispensable to many white families--yet hundreds of thousands of domestic servants are, together with farm workers, the least protected of South Africa's workforce.

Having for years lived in the seclusion of the servants' quarters of many white homes, these women (and men) have, in recent years increasingly made their voices heard.

Throughout the country, domestic workers--in keeping with trends in the broader black trade union movement--are organising themselves into employee organisations to protect their interests.

Among such representative organisations which have sprouted recently are the SA Domestic Workers' Association (Sadwa), the East London Domestic Workers' Union, the Port Elizabeth Domestic Workers' Union, the Natal Domestic Workers' Union and Cape Town's Domestic Workers' Association.

This movement will culminate in the formation next month of a national domestic workers' association having an initial membership of nearly 60,000. It is believed that the new grouping will seek affiliation to the Congress of SA Trade Unions.

Sadwa's Transvaal secretary, Mrs Margaret Nhlapo, said the new union resulted from the realisation that the different organisations, active on a regional basis, were unable to effectively fight for the rights of domestic workers.

The authorities' attitude to demands for legislation for the improvement of working conditions for domestic workers was just one example, she said.

#### Government Accused

Accusing the Government of ignoring the representations by unions on the subject, Mrs Nhlapo said that despite the submission of a comprehensive memorandum on the subject in 1984, the authorities had done nothing to improve the status of domestic workers.

Every time the unions raised the matter with the Department of Manpower, they were told that the matter was under consideration.

The Government, despite having since 1984 the report of a 1982 National Manpower Commission investigation, had not introduced any legislation for domestic workers.

Demands being made by Sadwa and other unions are:

- That domestics be covered by labour legislation which would make it possible for them to qualify for benefits such as unemployment insurance and pension.

- A minimum wage of R200 plus an annual increment higher than the inflation rate. This should also apply to gardeners.

- A month's notice before termination of service, plus annual bonus.

- A 40-hour working week and two weekends off a month, with a weekend including the period from Friday evening to Monday morning.

- Maternity benefits ensuring that workers are paid for eight weeks before giving birth and for at least six weeks afterwards. Days off to attend antenatal clinics. Domestic workers should also be entitled to 14 days sick a year.

- The abolition of child labour.

Because of what she sees as unwillingness by the authorities to accede to these demands, Mrs Nhlapo said negotiations with some employers, both on an individual and group level were in progress.

But success in such dealings depended on employer goodwill. While some employers were sympathetic, many were uncooperative.

#### Labour Laws

"Domestic workers' rights are not protected by the country's labour laws and most work under appalling conditions. In some cases their working day is between 14 and 16 hours.

"Even in Johannesburg there are domestics earning R40 a month," said Mrs Nhlapo.

In addition, she said, domestic workers increasingly had to cope with assaults by employers--with at least five cases a week being reported to Sadwa.

Mrs Nhlapo made it clear that exploitation was not confined to white "madams". Unions wanted to improve the wages and working conditions of all domestic workers, irrespective who employed them.

"When we talk of improving working conditions for domestics, 'madams' in the townships and the Indian and coloured areas think this does not apply to them.

"Anyone employing a domestic must be prepared to pay fair wages," said Mrs Nhlapo.

/9274

CSO: 3400/327

## REPORTER SHEDS LIGHT ON KWAZULU/NATAL INDABA

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 24-30 Oct 86 p 3

[Text]

THE cloud of secrecy shrouding the Kwazulu/Natal Indaba has been parted slightly, revealing plans for a new non-racial political organisation, the Indaba Alliance Party, and a constitutional proposal giving "over-representation" to the white minority.

While the 37 organisations involved in the Indaba negotiate constitutional proposals behind closed doors, an umbrella party promoting the aims of the Indaba in regional and parliamentary politics becomes more likely, one well-placed delegate said this week.

Under the umbrella, our informant said, would be Inkatha, the New Republic Party, possibly the PFP and the Indian and the coloured parliamentary parties. PFP observers at the Indaba have expressed doubts about their involvement in a national party.

The infrastructure for such an informal coalition already exists in the form of the Indaba's Image Management Committee (IMC), responsible for an upbeat advertising campaign on the Indaba in all major Natal papers.

The IMC is "a dominant force in the Indaba", capable of shifting Natal National Party members through sheer force of money.

The IMC is made up of top men from industry, agriculture, Inkatha, the PFP and the NRP. "The Nats just can't approach the IMC financially. They must have about R1-million just for temporary publicity.

"They're not really pushing info about the Indaba (in this week's adverts). They're lobbying support

for next year's referendum after the government takes a look at the proposals," the source said.

If the IMC progresses as expected, it may even pay the considerable costs of a Kwazulu/Natal referendum. Such a referendum will probably be run on a racial basis, but would be open to all population groups.

An official Indaba Alliance Party would be based on the formula of Namibia's ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance. The DTA model greatly impressed Indaba members who went to Namibia last month — to the extent that some now wear DTA ties.

Even though the Kwazulu/Natal constitution and legislature are still embryonic, a few features are emerging.

One is a complicated system for the protection of minority parties (not minorities *per se*) within a framework of proportional representation.

The tentative model accepts "over-representation of minorities on a non-racial basis" in order to provide everyone with access to — if not necessarily power over — critical decisions.

Perhaps to emphasise the point or detract from the implications, the phrases "minorities" and "on a non-racial" have been underlined in their documents.

Two constitutional models giving "over-representation" to minorities are currently being debated. One requires an automatic 50 percent increase in seats for every party with under 15 percent of the vote.

In the other, most seats would be fought for in a straight-forward election. However, 40 percent of the seats would be divided among small parties which would otherwise be eliminated by numerical giants such as Inkatha.

These smaller parties may or may not be based on race—the choice is their own.

“Basically a party will go to the administration before an election and say: we won't be able to get enough seats. Help us.” The party then waits for the 40 percent to be divided proportionally among all the parties which qualified.

All aspects are still being negotiated, so specifics details are not yet known.

Some of the more conservative Indaba participants are still calling for whites to have a greater say in the affairs of the province. Others who have realised that white guarantees aren't likely to be accepted are still wistful. — Concord News

/13046

CSO: 3400/352

THREE CASES OF FORCED REMOVALS EXAMINED

Oukasie Township

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 24-30 Oct 86 pp 4-5

[Article by Vivienne Walt]

[Text]

LAST Friday, the *Brits Pos* was full of self-congratulation.

The high school had won a regional contest, with the fine military skills of its cadet soldiers. The same boys had beaten Pretoria's youth in target practice, and a front-page colour photograph showed a group of teenagers playing a ball game in the park. All was well in Brits.

To the more than 10 000 blacks living just across a dried-up field, the silence in the white newspaper might have been deafening, were it not entirely predictable in this polarised town.

For there was no mention at all of a decision taken by the government the previous day to destroy the black township. The residents, born and bred in Oukasie township, are to be evicted in a gloves-off, guns-out mass removal.

Thanks to apartheid's unique semantics, Oukasie no longer exists, despite the presence of thousands of blacks there. With one signature by Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Chris Heunis, it has been "deproclaimed", making its residents illegal squatters.

For President PW Botha, the decision is a gamble which could prove dangerous. It will certainly spark large work stoppages by engineering and auto workers, the first of which was planned for Wednesday this week but was

postponed while community leaders met with local officials and industry representatives. Both the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) and the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA (Seifsa) have expressed strong opposition.

Together with the Brits Action Committee, they have written to Heunis requesting a meeting but have been told he was too busy.

But with the removal, the government's primary goal will probably be achieved. Brits' whites, jittery at the sight of Oukasie from the windows of their homes, will stay within the government fold.

As organised trade unionists, at such multinational companies as Firestone Tires and Ciba-Geigy pharmaceuticals, Brits' blacks are primed for an ugly fight.

"It won't be peaceful," Brits Action Committee member Abel Molokoane said at the weekend. "If we see bulldozers, there is going to be a riot, I am afraid."

But it has become a struggle to hold on to their township, and 5 000 residents have already moved out, having buckled under the pressure of verbal threats and minimal, erratic services. "Every week the water is cut off in a different section," said one young woman.

Amid the dirt lanes, void of electricity or water-borne sewerage, lies the rubble of these evacuees'



homes, which have been bulldozed by the authorities immediately on the residents' departure. Despite a chronic housing shortage, no one has been allowed to build on these vacant stands. Instead, they dot the area like ancient ruins.

Their former occupants have shifted their belongings 25km away to Letlhabile, a remote area especially chosen by the government for Oukasie's blacks. "It is like a desert there," said David Modimoeng, organiser of the area's 3 000 Metal and Allied Workers' Union members.

"They promise us modern facilities there. We ask, why not here? We are here already. It is because the whites want this place for themselves."

Modimoeng has paid dearly for his outspoken leadership. One night last May, a hand grenade crashed through his bedroom window, killing his wife and seriously injuring him. At the night vigil, police hurled teargas cannisters at the mourners and rounded up several known militants.

"I suspect the police played a role in this," said Modimoeng. "It was because I was mobilising the community against the removal threat."

Since then, the State of Emergency, now more than four months old, has made activists like Modimoeng extremely vulnerable to police harassment.

"They are trying to kill the spirit of trade unionism here," said Modimoeng. "But two or three years ago, the township was not well organised. Now, with the removal issue, the community is solid."

In conversation, Oukasie's residents frequently interject with sneering comments about the government's stated reform programme. "They talk of reform," said Modimoeng, bitterly. "They are just trying to keep apartheid alive."

And so Oukasie has found new forms of expression for its militancy.

Throughout the overcrowded township, vacant lots have been turned into makeshift "people's parks". The painted junk which serves as poor people's sculpture often displays messages, like "We don't move" and "When you're tired of Oukasie, you're tired of life". And T-shirts with slogans supporting trade unions or the United Democratic Front are an increasingly common sight.

Under the government's 38-year tenure, nearly four million blacks have been forcibly resettled. In Brits, it is clear this could be one of the most violent removal battles yet fought.

Standing outside his house, looking at the skeleton of what was once a grocery store, Sello Ramakobye, Brits' National Auto and Allied Workers Union representative, shook his head.

"We are adamant," he said. "We will stay, with or without shops."

## Home for Roadside Refugees

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 24-30 Oct 86 p 4

[Article by Franz Kruger]

[Text]

The people of Rala, dumped at the roadside by the Ciskei government early in September, have found a new home in Kwelera, outside East London.

The group of about 100 people have been taken into the houses of Kwelera residents. Their accommodation will be made more permanent once it has been established that the government has no objection to their staying.

Kwelera's own future remains uncertain. It is a "black spot" whose residents are scheduled for removal to

Ciskei. But residents decided to help the Rala group anyway, in consultations initiated by the Kwelera Residents Association (KRA).

The association was formed to fight the threat of removal but since its headmen fled to Ciskei, it has become the *de facto* authority in the area, resolving disputes, allocating plots and dealing with the authorities.

Said one Kwelera resident: "Those Ciskei supporters fled, and so we have space. These people were evicted because they don't support the Ciskei. We have to help them."

Almost all have left their possessions at the roadside where they were originally dumped. They bring them "bit by bit".

Still, they are happy to have found a home. Said Mvuleni Ntlokobomvu: "We are most thankful to the KRA. They didn't know us before, but when they got the call, they took us in their warm hands."

KRA publicity secretary Mzwandile Zingani said: "We got the feeling the people couldn't stay outside in the rains for a long time. We spread them between the villages, taking them into our homes."

Although there was a shortage of land in the area, an attempt would be made to give the Rala people more permanent sites once the KRA was sure the government would allow them to stay, Zingani said.

The saga began when the group was evicted from the farm where they had been staying, on the strength of an eviction order obtained by the owner, P Rala. One morning, Ciskei trucks arrived and took the people and their possessions to the South African border, intending to deposit them at Needs Camp, where another much larger group was dumped by the Ciskei early this year.

But an SADF patrol stopped the trucks, and so the Rala people were dumped just within the border, next to the roadside. Ciskei then offered to resettle the group in the Peddie area, and although this was rejected, trucks returned a few days later and forcibly

moved as many people as possible to Peddie.

One of those taken to Peddie, Milton Matana, said: "We had no choice. There were soldiers, and they said we were going to Peddie whether we wanted to or not." Other members of the group managed to flee into the bush, where they spent a cold and rainy weekend, afraid to return to their makeshift shelters in case the trucks came back.

On Monday, they made their way to East London to seek help from the People's Advice Office. They left only a handful of youths to watch over their possessions. The authorities were approached but officials said it would take time to obtain assistance as it was an "international matter".

However, the group was offered temporary accommodation at the Nahoon Methodist Church while negotiations began with the KRA to find a more permanent home for them. After the KRA had consulted Kwelera residents, volunteers came forward to take the people in.

Nomvulo Hate, who opened her home in Zozo location to Ntlokobomvu and his family, said: "I feel very happy to accommodate people without a home. We are staying like a family here."

Since the Rala people have left most of their possessions at the roadside, their hosts have helped them with whatever they need. Cooking utensils, blankets and food have been shared with the refugees.

### Despatch Township Razed

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 24-30 Oct 86 p 5

[Article by Jo-Ann Bekker]

[Text]

CAREFULLY-tended hedges are all that remain of the established black shanty town which once existed outside Despatch, a small industrial town near Uitenhage.

All but four houses in the old location have been razed to the ground in the past fortnight and about 200 families moved to the mushrooming tent town in Uitenhage's Kwanobuhle township about 10km away.

The Despatch people joined hundreds of families forcibly moved

from a section of Uitenhage's Langa township — the scene of police shootings in March last year — in July after residents of a white suburb overlooking Langa complained of the township's proximity. Like the Langa community, the Despatch people were moved at a time when their leaders were in detention, meetings were banned and they were unable to protest effectively.

In keeping with the government's promise that no more forced removals will take place, the authorities claim the Despatch folk moved willingly.

"A number of families asked the Town Clerk to be allowed to move to Kwanobuhle, because they would be closer to their jobs in Uitenhage," a representative of the Kwanobuhle Town Council explained.

But the newest residents in the sprawling tent town built on a muddy slope of Kwanobuhle deny this.

"The police came at night with loudspeakers. They had guns with them. They told us if we didn't move they would break down our homes," Yvonne Ntinge, a mother of two told a Black Sash delegation who visited the site last week.

"All we got were 50 nails to reassemble our homes."

A representative of the Sash delegation said the group had split up and interviewed residents separately. All told the same story. And all said they would return to their old township if given the choice.

Residents interviewed said their children had to continue attending school at Despatch, but many had dropped out as it cost R1,20 to travel to and from the school by bus. It took

children more than an hour and a half to walk the distance.

According to the Sash, residents complained that the tin toilets in Kwanobuhle were emptied only irregularly, forcing residents to empty the contents into the bush.

Water trucks filled the black water troughs with drinking water every few days, residents said. But the troughs were uncovered and the water became dirty. There was no water available in which to bathe or wash clothing.

Although some residents have rebuilt their shacks, most are still living in tents supplied by the Kwanobuhle Town Council, the Sash representative said. When it rained, water poured down the slope into the tents, soaking everywhere.

Today, a school and about four houses are the only buildings left standing in Despatch's old township. When the Sash group visited the area a hog was snuffling through the garbage and three women were scavenging what they could from the remains.

According to the Sash, residents in the remaining houses said they had shown the police certificates proving their employers were helping them to build their own houses. They were told they, too, would have to leave.

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CSO: 3400/352

# STATUS OF TRANSKEI AS INDEPENDENT HOMELAND ANALYZED ON 10TH ANNIVERSARY

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 24-30 Oct 86 p 14

[Commentary by Patrick Laurence]

[Text]

TEN years ago, on October 26, 1976, Transkei became the first of South Africa's nominally sovereign black states, sparking vigorous controversy over its decision to opt for independence from Pretoria.

The debate centred on the question of whether Transkei would become a lever with which to pry loose the racial laws South Africa or whether it would end up as a buttress propping up white hegemony in South Africa.

Today the debate is over. Transkei is a South African satellite. Its rulers are dependent on South Africa for financial survival and, in turn, exercise control over their fiefdom which is consistent with the interests of their counterparts in Pretoria.

On the eve of Transkei independence, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, the man who led the drive to independence, proclaimed that an independent Transkei would allow the outlawed African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress to establish offices.

South Africa's banned black nationalist organisations would be free to campaign politically — but not violently — for the "liberation" of South Africa, he told the Kenyan newspaper, Daily Nation.

Today the ANC and PAC are proscribed in Transkei.

They are not alone on the list of banned organisations. Dozens share that status with them. Many, like the Methodist Church of South Africa, are strongly committed to non-violence.

Transkei's list of banned organisations includes most of the trenchant but still lawful political foes of the South African state: the United Democratic Front, the Azanian People's Organisation, the SA Council of Churches and, at one stage, Inkatha, to name a few.

Transkei's budgetary dependence on South Africa is almost total. When it became

independent in 1976, 80 percent of its funds came from South Africa. After 10 years of supposed independence, its financial dependence on South Africa is still high, amounting, directly and indirectly, to more than 60 percent.

Transkei's income is distributed very unevenly, with a small elite — the "beneficiaries of independence" in Roger Southall's phrase — appropriating a major share.

According to research conducted by the Transkei-based Institute of Management and Development Studies, the wealthiest 20 percent of families account for 60 percent of the income while the share of the poorest 20 percent is less than four percent.

The richest five percent of families enjoy a quarter of the total income.

High on the list of beneficiaries of independence are the Matanzima brothers, Kaiser and George. Kaiser was Transkei's first Prime Minister and is its immediate past president. George is the current Prime Minister.

Apart from their relatively high salaries — Kaiser at one stage earned more than the South African Prime Minister, who headed a much bigger and richer polity — both acquired farms and shares in businesses in the post-independence decade.

Their wealth and that of their acolytes contrasts starkly with the poverty of the vast majority of their subjects. Nearly two-thirds of Transkei households earn less than R1 500 per annum or less than the annual Household Subsistence Level (HSL) for South Africa's four supposedly independent states calculated by the University of Port Elizabeth's Institute for Planning Research.

Transkei's poor are heavily dependent on the remittances of migrant labour. Their position has not improved under independence. Remittances account for nearly 70 percent of the income of households below the HSL.

According to the 1985 Transkei census, for every one man who finds work in Transkei, six have to work in South Africa as migrant workers. The census highlights unemployment levels: nearly 14 percent of the men are unemployed and more than 75 percent of the women.

The census was supervised by Peter Wakelin, deputy director of the Institute for Management and Development.

He is now in detention.

Another census indicator of the skewed distribution of wealth in Transkei and the poverty of most of its people is its infant mortality rate of 110 per 1 000 live births, meaning that for every 1 000 babies born, 110 die before the age of one.

The overall infant mortality for black people is between 50-60 deaths for every 1 000 live births.

It perhaps indicative of the Transkei regime's priorities that it allocates more money for nurses' uniforms (R250 000) than it does for vaccines (R140 000) in its latest budget.

Transkei's rulers, however, maintain tight control over the territory, crushing every sign of dissent and even pursuing vendettas against the few brave individuals who voice their opposition.

The centrepiece of the legal apparatus for control is Transkei's omnibus Public Security Act. Apart from providing for detention without trial, arbitrary banning and banishment by decree, it defines as treasonable any statement which "defies or is repugnant to the sovereignty of parliament or the constitutional independence of Transkei".

The law means that a person opposed to Transkei independence risks prosecution for treason — a capital offence — for advocating the reunification of Transkei into South Africa.

The presumption in the law is that the accused is guilty until proved innocent.

Kaiser Matanzima could, however, pledge Transkei to the ideal of a "greater South Africa", and to the "reunification of all those whom apartheid divides", in a brief flirtation in 1983 with what appeared to be "treason" as defined in the Public Security Act.

He was not prosecuted.

He committed himself at the same time to an equitable redistribution of land and wealth in the envisaged greater South Africa (but not, it seems, in Transkei in the interim).

Transkei anticipated South Africa's declaration of a general State of Emergency by six years. It has been under one since 1980 and under a night

curfew since mid-1985 when guerrillas sabotaged the petrol depot in Transkei.

Another legal instrument of control is the 1982 law which established regional authority courts.

These courts fall under the chiefs, with the same judicial powers as magistrates. Lawyers are prohibited from appearing before these tribal courts, which have the power to sentence offenders to long periods of jail.

Hundreds of people have been detained without trial in Transkei in the past two years, including many school pupils. A few were later arraigned before the regional court at Qamata and sentenced to seven lashes each.

Power is sometimes exercised even more brutally, as manifest on September 24 last year in the small town of Cala. On that day Batwanda Ndondo, an expelled member of the Student Representative Council at the University of Transkei, was shot dead in broad daylight by four people whom eyewitnesses suspected were plainclothes police or police agents.

As bullets were pumped into Ndondo by the suspected police — three men and a woman — a eyewitness asked: "Whose child is it that you are killing like a dog?" The killers replied: "He is a terrorist."

Kaiser Matanzima then personally pronounced Ndondo's guilt. "He is the one who came from Lesotho with others and exploded a bomb in Umtata," Matanzima declared. "You will see the communists will be asking what Ndondo's done. Must you (Transkeians) all be killed because of these people? Your president and your cabinet will not allow such atrocities to take place."

A year later, the younger Matanzima made a similar speech.

When Ndondo's relatives, who include the lawyer, Dumisa Ntsebeza, protested about the killing, they were banned and banished.

Two policemen have since been charged with the killing, one of whom did not even appear in court. The hearing was postponed. The man who appeared in court was released on his own cognisances. No warrant for contempt of court was issued against the policemen who failed to appear.

After a decade of independence the rulers of Transkei have emerged, not as the liberators of South Africa but, in the words of Frank Molteno, "the commandants of the bantustan labour camps".

/9274

CSO: 3400/335

## BRIEFS

**14 BLACKS ADMITTED TO SPORTS SOCIETY**--The Rand Sportswriters Society entered a new era in Johannesburg yesterday when the first Black members of the sporting media were admitted to the society. Some ten years ago the Media Workers Association of South Africa, with predominately Black members, decided to disassociate itself from the Sportswriters Association, which annually names the Sportsman of the Year. At yesterday's annual meeting, held at the Wanderers in Johannesburg, 14 members of the SABC's Black sport staff applied to become members--and were accepted unopposed. There were two other firsts at the meeting. Pieter Kruger, a sports reporter at the SABC, became the first member of the television media to assume chairmanship of the Sportswriters Society. The Citizen sportswriter Gene Stephan also became the first woman to be elected vice-chairman. The vice-chairman assumes automatic chairmanship the following year. Miss Stephan became the first woman member of the society in 1976. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 20 Oct 86 p 5] /9274

**BLACK TELEVISION OWNERSHIP DOUBLES**--Black television ownership in Suburban areas continues to increase and in July this year, more than half of Blacks had televisions in their homes or access to one in a hostel. A survey conducted by Market Research Africa Omnimetros in July this year included 1,000 Blacks--500 male, 500 female--from most the metropolitan areas in South Africa, excluding Cape Town. The survey indicated that from March 1986 to July this year, the "television incidence" in households, including hostels, had almost doubled--from 29 percent to 53 percent. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Oct 86 p 14] /9274

**NEW FACES IN TRANSKEI CABINET**--Umtata--The new Transkei Cabinet announced by the Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, in the National Assembly here yesterday contained a lot of surprises with five new Ministers and four Deputy-Ministers being new faces. Of the 14 Ministers in the last Cabinet, seven remained and Mr Mututuzeli, who lost his seat in Cofimvaba, was appointed to the Cabinet in terms of a provision in the Constitution Act. Of the six other Ministers only one, Mr Mike Mazwana, was promoted from Deputy-Ministership, while all the four deputies were ordinary members. It was expected that a few deserving Independents on merit would be enticed back to the party with one or two positions, but it appears that they were completely ignored. Three former Ministers had indicated earlier that they would step down from the Cabinet for reasons of ill-health. They were Chief George Ndabankulu for Local Government and Land Tenure, Chief D. D. P. Ndamse for Interior, and Mr A. N. Jonas for Transport. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Oct 86 p 13] /9274

U.S. PULLOUT WILL HARM SOCIAL PROGRAMS

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 23 Oct 86 p 3

[Text]

THE spate of disinvestments by US multinationals could have dramatic long-term implications for the funding of local education and community projects through corporate social responsibility programmes.

IBM and General Motors, the largest US companies to announce their withdrawal recently, say they will maintain commitments to social responsibility projects.

But executives, who administer these projects and benefit from the corporate aid, now wonder what will happen when the money already appropriated runs out. And some are scrambling to line up new benefactors on the expectation that more US companies will pull out.

"Obviously, we're concerned," said Lente-Louise Louw, national director of Protec, a programme providing technical education for black youths which receives half its funding from American corporations. "We're certainly not going to get the same commitment from companies that are moving out, because they won't be participating in one of the codes."

Companies that agree to follow the Sullivan Code — a code of principles for US corporate behaviour — are obliged to spend between 5% and 12% of their total wage bill on social responsibility projects for education,

community improvement and social justice. As well, many companies donate staff time, equipment and facilities to charitable organisations.

An IBM spokesman said yesterday the company's commitment to spend \$15m on a social responsibility project would be honoured, either through the IBM-SA Project Fund or some other entity. But the new company has not committed itself to supporting projects beyond the scope of IBM's existing commitment. The spokesman said: "Negotiations haven't reached that level of detail."

Mel Brooks, director of the University of Witwatersrand Centre for Developing Business, said a cut-off of funding from IBM and other sponsors would be "tragic". He said: "IBM played a significant role in black business development, and we sincerely hope it continues." Similarly, American Chamber of Commerce director Ken Mason said further disinvestment could threaten the continued operation of the chamber's Pace College in Soweto.

GM MD Bob White said on Monday evening the company's sale agreement would include wording designed to protect ongoing social responsibility programmes, but did not give more details.

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CSO: 3400/330

SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENTARY REJECTS ALLEGATIONS IN MACHEL DEATH

MB300848 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 30 Oct 86

[Station commentary: "The Death of President Samora Machel"]

[Text] As the people of Mozambique mourned the passing of Samora Machel and paid their last respects to their first head of state, petty politics intruded into their grief. A number of prominent African personalities have accused South Africa of being responsible for the air crash in which President Machel lost his life, even though there is not a shred of evidence to support this accusation, and even though South Africa has, at the highest level, emphatically denied the accusation.

It has also been alleged that South African officials delayed assisting survivors of the crash for some hours, being more interested--so it has been alleged--in collecting documents that were in the ill-fated aircraft. This accusation, as well, has been emphatically denied.

The factual position is that South African officials gave immediate attention to the survivors. South Africa has demonstrated clearly to those who wish to listen objectively that she wants the true picture--the facts and all the evidence--to be made public, so that all can know exactly what caused the crash in which President Machel died.

To this end, South Africa had earlier accorded immediate access to the crash site to representatives of the Mozambican and Russian Governments and had invited these governments to participate in the investigation into the crash and had called for international experts to assist in the investigation.

South Africa has acted correctly in this matter. It is a cause for regret that others have sought to politicize an African tragedy.

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CSO: 3400/354



SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENTARY SCORES KAUNDA'S CONTEMPT FOR MACHEL INVESTIGATION

MB030836 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 3 Nov 86

[Station commentary]

[Text] South Africa's concern for ensuring that absolute neutrality and impartiality will be observed with the analysis of the flight recorder of the aircraft in which President Samora Machel of Mozambique died is understandable in the light of the on-going campaign to implicate the country in his death.

Such is the level of this campaign that there has been a suggestion that President Machel had survived the crash and had died some hours later as a result of having received no medical attention. The autopsy report shows this to be absolutely false. Professor J.P. Nel, Professor of forensic medicine at the University of Natal, who conducted autopsies on the deceased passengers of the aircraft, has confirmed that President Machel died instantly from multiple fractures of the skull and chest and abdominal injuries. He conducted the autopsies in Maputo, in the presence of Mozambican forensic experts.

Despite this, and the fact that South Africa, Mozambican, and Soviet experts have been conducting intensive investigations into the cause of the crash, African leaders have taken it upon themselves to blame South Africa. In the forefront of this chorus is President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. While Mozambican authorities must wait for the outcome of the official investigation, he said, other Frontline member states have already made their positions clear. There was enough circumstantial evidence for us to hold South Africa directly responsible, he said.

Only an extremely hostile layman would presume to place himself above expert opinion. The fact is that the cause of the crash is being thoroughly investigated by experts from the three countries involved--South Africa, Mozambique, and the Soviet Union--and everything is being done to ensure that the findings are totally impartial. This is no time for emotional outsiders to vent their hostility or display their contempt for correct procedure.

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CSO: 3400/354

MUSLIM LEADER ATTENDS CONGRESS IN LIBYA, MEETS QADHDHAFI

Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 20 Oct 86 p 4

[Text]

MUSLIM missionary Moulana Mohamed Sher Choudhry has just returned to Durban from a trip to Tripoli where he met Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi.

Pakistani-born and Durban-based, with a degree from Karachi University in Islamic sciences and modern thoughts, Moulana Choudhry met Colonel Gaddafi and resumed an earlier meeting's discussion on Koranic thought and politics.

Talking about South Africa's participation at international level, Moulana Choudhry said that when the Union of Muslim Councils for East, Central and Southern Africa was formed earlier this year, there was a move to exclude this country.

"But we insisted that we be included and we got support from the Libyans that South Africa should not be isolated."

Later at this meeting in Gaborone he was elected to the seven-member executive.

A few weeks ago, Moulana Choudhry led a delegation of South Africans to Tripoli.

It was the third congress of the

World Islamic Call Council and Moulana Choudhry was one of 10 speakers.

Subsequently, he was nominated the 35th executive member of the world organisation.

This move gave South African Muslims a voice to the world community of Islam.

Moulana Choudhry said today that Colonel Gaddafi was a great thinker.

The moulana travelled widely in Libya, looking at the political, judicial, economic and other systems affecting the lives of the people there.

Moulana Choudhry has addressed more than a dozen interna-

tional conferences in Africa and has met heads of state and diplomats on various public platforms and in private.

Moulana Choudhry said Colonel Gaddafi was not what the western world saw him as.

"Among the heads of state of Muslim countries, not many have the profound insight and vision of Colonel Gaddafi.

"He administers his country with Islamic standards and is no tyrant.

"I have seen him challenged in public debate, confronted by people who disagree with some aspects of the administration.

"And he treats his critics with respect."

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CSO: 3400/333

# GOVERNMENT'S CRACKDOWN ON UDF EXAMINED

Durban POST NATAL in English 22-25 Oct 86 p 19

[Commentary by Ameen Akhalwaya in "MY View" column]

[Text]

THE Government has declared one of its major adversaries, the United Democratic Front, an "affected" organisation.

It's an intriguing term, "affected". But what does it mean?

Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary gives more than one definition, and depending on whether you like or dislike the UDF, you can take your pick which one applies to it.

The adjectives "affected" and "affecting", says Chambers, mean "power to move the emotions". "Affected" also means "full of affectation; feigned".

"Affectation" in turn means "assumption of or striving after an appearance of what is not natural or real; feigned".

That the UDF has the "power to move emotions" is beyond dispute. The impact it has made in its three-year existence has changed the face of South African politics.

The ANC — and during its short legal existence the PAC — had the power to move emotions. Even since being banned in 1960, they still move emotions.

In the 1970s, the black

consciousness movement under Saso and BPC moved emotions that altered the nature of the political debate in this country.

In terms of mass mobilisation on a national scale, the UDF in its short existence has moved emotions on a scale probably unprecedented in South Africa.

That is why the Government has acted against it. It sees the UDF as a threat, and has therefore detained UDF members, banned them, arrested and taken them to court on charges that don't often stick...

Perhaps the main reason why the Government has acted against it is based on Chambers' second definition: "assumption of or striving after an appearance of what is not natural or real; feigned".

The Government claims the UDF is not what it appears to be, that it is in fact a front for the ANC.

If the UDF is indeed an ANC front, there is something strange in the Government's thinking. The Nats claim the ANC is under the thumb of Moscow and the communists.

Now I am not privy to the UDF's sources of foreign funds. But it is reasonable to assume that, as for many anti-apartheid organisations, the funds come from American foundations, the Scandinavian countries, and German and Dutch church groups.

None of these can be classified "communist" or the lackeys of Moscow.

If Pretoria believes that he who pays the piper calls the tune, its logic is again hard to fathom. Assuming the American groups, the Scandinavians, and the churches are out to influence the UDF, then surely, by the Government's reasoning, that is a very good thing?

After all, the Nats and the SABC repeatedly say they are trying to preserve Western and Christian democratic values, and you can't find them more Western or Christian than the supposed supporters of the UDF.

The same kind of logic was used in the 1970s to discredit the black consciousness organisations. Claims were made that they were being funded by the American CIA. The Government regards

the United States as a major friend, especially in its opposition to communism.

Indeed, US President Ronald Reagan is on record as saying "South Africa" is a friend, an ally in the World War 2 (and conveniently forgetting that many Nats opposed taking part in the war and were sympathetic to Hitler).

So if the CIA was indeed financing the BC groups (and there is no evidence to suggest that, if that were true, they were aware of it), then surely, from the Government's point of view again, that too would have been a good thing?

Surely the CIA would not be paying to get anyone into the communist orbit? It would pay to get people under American influence, and you cannot get any more Western/capitalist than that.

So instead of allowing the BC groups — in terms of its strange logic — to be influenced in being part of their Christian/ Western/ capitalist designs, the Nats clobbered them.

Last Sunday, October 19, was the ninth anniversary of the Government's banning of BC organisations.

Nine years later, the Nats have declared the UDF an "affected" organisation, which means it cannot receive funds from abroad. The Nats see this as poetic justice — the UDF has supported economic sanctions against South Africa, so

the Government has imposed economic sanctions against the UDF.

When, according to economists, South Africa desperately needs foreign currency, surely the Government is cutting its nose to spite its face? Its logic is indeed strange.

If we believe the smears, if the foreign donors are trying to win over the UDF and BC groups to the Western/ capitalist orbit, why would the Government curb them?

The only conclusion one can draw is that the Government knows full well that blacks striving for a just, truly democratic society don't want to be under anyone's thumb. They do not want to replace one boss with another from outside.

They want to be their own bosses in their own country. And that is what the Nats and their supporters really fear.

That is why the UDF is right in fearing that its being declared an "affected" organisation is a prelude to being banned outright — just as the ANC, PAC and, later, Saso/BPC, were.

But the Government hasn't learned the bans won't work. Banning the ANC drove it to violence, as Cabinet Minister Chris Heunis admitted recently.

And 26 years after being banned, the ANC remains the Government's major foe, whether or not the UDF is its front.

METHODIST CHURCH SPLIT ON SANCTIONS

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 23 Oct 86 p 2

[Text]

THE Methodist Church of SA has resolved it cannot condemn sanctions and disinvestment, but remains divided on whether to commend this form of economic pressure as a strategy to bring about change.

The Methodist conference in Maritzburg agreed yesterday that sanctions and disinvestment were already bringing about "a measure of self-examination and re-assessment which may yet lead to repentance among privileged South Africans".

Methodists would be urged to continue to search for other creative means of applying pressure on government.

It declared further that government, by its "stubborn refusal to

hear and respond to the Word of God and the call of justice", was responsible for the gathering momentum of disinvestment and the imposition of sanctions, "which must now be regarded as part of the judgment of God upon our nation".

The conference, which represents 2-million Methodists in Southern Africa, said government had the responsibility of taking the necessary steps to lift sanctions and halt disinvestment by immediately instituting those fundamental changes required to move SA from oppression to full democracy and justice.

The Church, it declared, had an immense pastoral and caring task

concerning those who would inevitably suffer even more under sanctions and disinvestment.

To this end, the conference instructed its christian citizenship department, with all its circuits and congregations, to initiate relief and self-help programmes; seek funding for those programmes both in SA and abroad; urge its people to continue to search for other creative means of applying pressure on government; investigate economic systems for a post-apartheid society; and educate and prepare its people for such a society.

Most of the debate on the controversial issue was held *in camera* because of fear that speakers might contravene emergency regulations.

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CSO: 3400/330

SOUTH AFRICA

NGK MEMBERS OPPOSE DECISION TO OPEN CHURCH TO ALL

MB011832 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1826 GMT 1 Nov 86

[Text] Pretoria, 1 November, SAPA--Members of the NG [Dutch Reformed] Church who are dissatisfied with the synodal decision to open the church to all races are planning coordinated action to support their views.

A few hundred NG Church members from all parts of the country held a meeting in Verwoerdburg, Pretoria, today to discuss their objection to various decisions taken at the recent NG synod in Cape Town and agreed to hold a mass meeting on 28 November to plan a response.

Dr W.J.G. Lubbe, an NGK [Dutch Reformed Church] elder, and chairman of a study committee elected at today's meeting, said in a statement to SAPA that the decision to open the church to all races was among the most important grievances discussed.

There was also "much unhappiness" about the synod's decision that priests from the different NG churches, such as the NG Sendingkerk [Dutch Reformed Mission Church] and the NG Kerk in Afrika, [Dutch Reformed Church in Africa] could serve in each other's congregations.

Other points about which there was dissatisfaction were the decision that services of the church should be open to all and that church unity should cut across racial barriers.

The statement said the meeting had decided to appoint the study committee to formulate and motivate members' grievances and to contact other members country-wide to record their dissatisfaction.

The committee would also have to make recommendations to the meeting on 28 November, which would then decide on coordinated action. A venue had not yet been decided on.

Dr Lubbe said the committee would obtain advice on grievances from church and other sources and pass this on to members.

It was also responsible for opening an office and obtaining a telephone and post box for the study committee.

Today's meeting had been a small gathering of a few hundred representatives of various regions throughout the country, Dr Lubbe said, and the attendance of large numbers had been discouraged.

However, he expected "many" people to attend the meeting planned for 28 November.

The statement issued after today's meeting appealed to NG church members not to leave the church hastily, "but to use the opportunity for debate created by this meeting and to liaise with the study committee in connection with their grievances so that action can be taken on a coordinated basis."

The members of the committee are Dr Lubbe, the chairman; Professor A. Swart, the secretary and an elder of the church, DS [Reverend] G. Cruywagen, DS E. Friis, and Fr J.C. Kurger, all retired dominees; Mrs M. Roos; Prof M. Verster; Prof S. Jacobs; Mrs C. Wagner; Dr J. Richter; Mrs Kobie Gouws and DS C.C. Colyn.

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CSO: 3400/354

# JOHANNESBURG PROFESSIONALS ADDRESS FUTURE OF CITY

Johannesburg THE STAR (Metro) in English 22 Oct 86 p 6M

[Article by James Clarke]

[Text]

Here was a congress on the future of Johannesburg attended and organised by the city's top professional brain power — big names in planning, architecture, civil engineering and academia.

But only two out of 47 Johannesburg city councillors came.

And the moment Minister Chris Heunis had finished his uninspiring opening address he too groped for the exit along with the TV cameras.

Mr Jan Steyn, director of the Urban Foundation, then delivered his keynote address to the 200 who filled the hall. In it he said that the more rapidly a city grew the more complex it became and the more afraid politicians became — and the more authoritarian they were tempted to become.

He made a point which was to be echoed and re-echoed: "Urbanisation is a process to be managed, not a process to be deplored."

## INEVITABILITY

Mr Brian Whittaker of the Foundation said it another way: "Some people talk about urbanisation

as if it were an option. It's an inevitability."

Later, when delegates gathered over wine and asked themselves what had been achieved by the conference, the consensus was that it had been a battle between two emotions. One frequently felt a surge of inspiration — of wanting to be "pro-active" (a conference buzzword) — at the thought of the challenges presented by a Johannesburg freed of all its crude constraints and given better leadership than it has now. And then the depression as one remembered the constraints which still existed.

The dichotomy between what politicians believe the future will be (rigidly controlled metropolises with "Norweto"-like ghettos over the horizons) and the visions of those who still live in the real world was vivid throughout.

The voices of the half a dozen black and coloured delegates were frequently harsh with frustration or faltering with despair. The fact that there were so few at this totally non-racial confer-

ence was a speech on its own.

But while only two Johannesburg politicians attended — Rae Graham and Geoff Simpson — the city's officials saved the day. Led by Tim Middleton of the town and regional planning department their input was intelligent, informed and impressive.

"Johannesburg — the second century" demonstrated something that was very hopeful — that professional people, men and women, black and white, Afrikaans and English, shared a belief that apartheid (or, to be more specific, the Group Areas Act) was, somehow, about to end.

And once it was over there were ideas and resourcefulness ready to get on with developing a great, human and handsome city.

It would have its slums, to be sure ("don't talk of slum clearance," said Jan Steyn, "talk of slum improvement") but they would represent urban hope rather than an intractable problem.

Only one speaker, the tall and popular Rand-



burg National Party man Olaus van Zyl, saw racial segregation as still being relevant — but even he showed deep reservations.

He believed regional services councils (RSCs) would come some time in the second quarter of next year and that they would be quite compatible with a post-apartheid society. RSCs would still work perfectly well, he said, in the event of local councils becoming non-racial.

And although some people perceived RSCs as being beyond the reach of voters — after all the public cannot choose its representatives on RSCs — a mechanism could be found (he said) to make them directly answerable. RSCs were a flexible tool. And they were not a new tier of Government but were "horizontal" to local councils.

Urban affairs consultant Nigel Mandy, looking astonishingly fit after an open heart operation only weeks ago, had lost none of his elegant knifework. Ignoring his own paper, which he never once glanced at, he congratulated Olaus van Zyl on his "very excellent paper". Then he verbally shredded it, pointing out many "absurdities".

He said that Olaus van Zyl's insistence that an RSC was not a new tier of Government was "the greatest criticism of RSCs so far". He said the new pattern of administration revealed a devolution of functions but not of decision-making which would in fact become more centralised.

Anyway, he said, nearly all the duties an RSC could elect to take over were, or could be, perfectly well looked after by agencies. Why to scrub the Rand Water Board, for instance?

The milch cow of the RSCs was the private sector. Businesses will have to pay a new form of tax — a tax based on success — to finance these councils. Yet businessmen will have no representation at all.

The conference, which produced nothing concrete for future development — except for Professor Richard Brown's proposed rapid rail system (see illustration) — became an exercise in finding theories and overseas development models appropriate for the post-apartheid era.

#### GREY AREA

It became clear during the conference that Greater Johannesburg is, irrevocably, a grey area. There were, some said, 40 000 blacks now living in the CBD. I met a coloured man in the lobby whom, it turned out, had been my neighbour in Bryanston for five years. I learned a black professional man has bought a house in Houghton.

It is, somebody said, just a matter of the law catching up with reality.

As such matters were being discussed by urban experts from throughout the country — who told much the same story — it became clear: South Africa is a grey area.

Perhaps that was the lesson in it all.

ASSOCOM CALLS FOR COMMUNITY POLICE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Oct 86 p 12

[Text] Concern about the rising incidence of urban crime led Assocom to propose that community-based police forces be established under the jurisdiction of the South African Police.

In a unanimously accepted motion passed at the Assocom congress in Johannesburg yesterday, the Minister of Law and Order was urged to encourage a higher level of community involvement in crime prevention by actively promoting community-based neighbourhood crime watch programmes.

It was stressed that those involved in the neighbourhood crime watch programmes should not be armed. All they would do would be to keep an eye on what was going on in their neighbourhoods.

They would work in close co-operation with the SAP.

The recent decision to train 1,000 special constables in three weeks for auxiliary work in the townships was seen as a commendable, but inadequate move. The need for more properly trained policemen was stressed.

In a related move, Assocom called on the Minister of Justice to seek ways and means of streamlining the judicial process so as to encourage victims of petty crimes in particular, to report these to the police and pursue any consequential prosecution.

Many people, it was said, declined to press charges against criminals because of the amount of time they "wasted" at court while waiting to give evidence.

A suggestion was made that a night court dealing particularly with less serious crimes--something along the lines of the successful small claims court--could be introduced.

/9274

CSO: 3400/333

## CORPORATIONS CONSIDER CHANGES IN EDUCATION FUNDING

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 23 Oct 86 p 9

[Text]

MULTINATIONAL corporations, reacting to past failures and the latest crises in township schools, are changing the way they approach and implement their funding of black education programmes.

As a result, experts say, corporations are slowly moving away from programmes of slapdash, undirected spending toward more carefully conceived long-term projects designed to foster teacher competency and change black attitudes to education.

Even so, the range of current projects reflects continuing disagreement on how the problem of black education should be addressed. And doubt remains among educators whether the latest improvement will be enough to stem increasing disenchantment in black communities.

Corporations funding education, they say, may be forced to dramatically rethink their strategies once again. Social responsibility executives at leading multinationals recognise the failure of projects such as Pace College in Soweto, a secondary school funded by members of the American Chamber of Commerce.

### Attendance

Pace has been hit by poor attendance and student protests — phenomena observers attribute to the school's elitist appearance in the community. In addition, past projects based on grants of money or equipment to schools have proved ineffective without community involvement or continued attention.

Hewlett Packard corporate social responsibility director Simon Middleton says: "We've realised that, for the most part, computers were irrelevant in a Third World environment." Still, he praises projects like IBM's "Writing to Read," introduced this year, which uses personal computers to teach young children to write and read English.

Hewlett Packard now focuses most of its education support on the Alexandra

branch of Protec, a relatively informal technical education programme for 300 students that concentrates on "attitudinal enrichment".

Mobil corporate social responsibility manager Pat O'Malley says: "A lot of people in the private sector see education technology as a panacea — they see it as a way of circumventing the basic problem of teacher competency."

Mobil has helped develop and fund the Teacher Opportunity Programmes (Tops), which offers "in-service" training to teachers to work towards higher qualifications and increased classroom competence.

A project funded jointly by Burroughs-Memorex and Johnson & Johnson aims to upgrade the quality of science teaching at the Standard Five level in 44 area schools. Burroughs PR director Ian Burton says: "If you're teaching someone and you're not qualified yourself, then you're batting off a loose wicket."

Companies have realised, too, that a successful education project depends as much on competent implementation as on good intentions. Executives involved in such programmes now cite the need for communication before a project is initiated and continuing through the life of the activity.

Still, doubts remain about how much multinationals can accomplish. Says Burton: "American companies can only be pilot project initiators. We cannot solve the black education problem, educating six-million black children."

And some wonder whether corporations are still approaching black education question in the wrong way.

Brother Neil McGurk, principal of Sacred Heart College, a multi-racial secondary school in Observatory, Johannesburg, says: "The thing I find difficult with the way companies go about it is they have no clear vision about where they're moving toward."

RESEARCH GROUP ISSUES REPORT ON SQUATTER TOWNS

MB311512 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1322 GMT 31 Oct 86

[Text] Johannesburg, 31 October, SAPA--The number of squatter communities in South Africa will grow as the government continues its "orderly urbanisation" policies, according to the Community Research Group [CRG].

In a report released in Johannesburg, the organisation also said the rent boycott affecting 54 townships countrywide was not likely to end while people believed their money was being spent "by discredited local government structures on housing schemes they have agreed to." The report said the state intended "forcing the urban poor into badly serviced townships on the metropolitan peripheries and selling off the houses in the older, formal townships to those who can afford it.

"The communities are uniting around the demand for more houses at affordable rates in areas where they choose to live. This is what underlies the current rent boycott.... and the squatter struggles spreading through South Africa's major metropolitan areas."

In its report, the CRG said Tembisa Township near Kempton Park had an unofficial population of at least 220,000 people, or 40,000 more than it had been designed to cater for. A spokesman for the Tembisa Working Committee [TWC], a United Democratic Front affiliated civic organisation, was quoted in the report as saying that residents who applied for houses had been told by the East Rand Development Board that there was no money for housing. Some Tembisa people who had been put on housing waiting lists had been waiting for 8 years for homes, the TWC spokesman was quoted as saying.

The report said the TWC had organised the erection of shacks on empty land in Tembisa but that the squatters had been ordered to leave. "The actions of Tembisa squatters, whose only demand is the right to occupy unused land to build shelter for the homeless, is one of many similar kinds of struggles around the country. As the government attempts to use housing and occupancy regulations to control the movement of black people... the black communities have attempted to resist what the government calls orderly urbanisation by taking matters into their own hands," the report said.

Squatter movements had emerged in Uitenhage, Cape Town, Brits, Soweto and now in Tembisa. "We can expect similar kinds of squatter struggles to spread to other communities as the state proceeds with its current orderly urbanisation policies."

The report said that, in the case of Tembisa, the development board spent rental money on developing model townships such as Ekangela on the Far East Rand and not on houses for the people Tembisa. Overcrowding had reached crisis proportions in Tembisa and the 40,000 homeless in the township were building shelters in backyards or were renting rooms and outbuildings.

The report said the TWC believed the solution lay in making available unoccupied land in Tembisa for housing. This would allow people to stay in the township instead of being relocated to outlying townships like Ekangela.

A spokesman for the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning denied the statements that the government's urbanisation policies were aimed at forcing poorer people to the outskirts of townships. He said evidence to the contrary could be found in the government's white paper on urbanisation.

On the claims that people in Tembisa had been waiting for up to 8 years for houses, he said the development boards had been phased out and the matter now fell under the aegis of the Tembisa local authority.

The spokesman said further comment could be obtained from the minister, Mr Chris Heunis. However, Mr Heunis was in Cape Town and could not be reached at his office there.

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CSO: 3400/354

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

UNBANNING OF TAMBO URGED--Durban, 2 November, SAPA--An Indian MP has written to the minister of justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, urging him to unban the president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo. The Solidarity Party's spokesman on justice, Mr Pat Poovalingam, said in the letter that, by silencing Mr Tambo, "incalculable harm" was being done to the majority of South Africans, who should have access to the ANC leader's utterances. Mr Tambo's banning was "as unreasonable as it is unjust," Mr Poovalingam said in the letter, in which he described the exiled ANC president as a "South African patriot." Mr Poovalingam, MP for Reservoir Hills in the House of Delegates, urged the minister to take urgent steps to remove banning orders on Mr Tambo and others. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1345 GMT 2 Nov 86 MB] /12232

CSO: 3400/354

## CORRESPONDENT VIEWS FRENCH COLLABORATION WITH PRETORIA

Lagos THE AFRICAN GUARDIAN in English 9 Oct 86 pp 37-38

[Article by Bokwe Matuna]

[Text]

**N**OT only has Paris been linked with London and Washington throughout the past 25 years in obstructing moves at the United Nations for the adoption of mandatory sanctions against apartheid South Africa, French collaboration has been a vital factor in strengthening the South African government's military and economic apparatus and with traditional French discretion, Paris is getting away with its position on sanctions, which is far from clear.

One of the most vital areas of France-South African collaboration has been in the nuclear field. The Koeberg Nuclear Power Plant was built with French technical and financial assistance, enabling South Africa to meet a large amount of its energy needs, vital for the country's economy. The military uses to which Pretoria can now put its nuclear technology are obvious, and act as a real threat to African countries critical of the apartheid regime. The military uses that Pretoria is developing from her nuclear capability are secret, and this is facilitated by Pretoria's refusal to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and to open its plant to inspection. But nuclear collaboration is not all.

France has been among Pretoria's steady and faithful supporters in providing the finance for setting up various government projects, vital for maintaining the apartheid regime. Even under the socialist governments headed by Pierre Mauroy and Laurent Fabius,

French aid to South Africa was readily available, in spite of the socialists' proclaimed hostility to Pretoria. Laurent Fabius' decision to halt French imports of coal from South Africa was not accompanied by a halt of French bank loans to the Pretoria regime.

Among banks that gave loans to South Africa are some of France's most important banks: Banque Francaise du Commerce Extérieur, Banque Nationale de Paris, Banque Worms, The Caisse Centrale des Banques Populaires, CIC Group, Compagnie Financière de Suez, Credit Agricole, Credit Commercial de France, Credit Lyonnais, Societe Generale, Lazard Freres CIE, and many others. The banking sector was nationalised by the socialist government under President Francois Mitterand — and now Jacques Chirac is de-nationalising them.

The beneficiaries of French banking loans in South Africa are government and parastatals like the Electrical Supply Commission (ESCOM), The Iron and Steel Corporation (ISCOR), The South African Transport Services (SATS) and the Department of Posts and Telecommunication as well as the city of Johannesburg and the central government itself. The French banking loans came at a time when the South African economy is experiencing the deepest crisis in decades and for several years has experienced "negative growth".

The major factors contributing to the country's deteriorating economic situation are:

- The military budget
- Expenses for oil imports
- The costs for the Namibian occupation and raids into neighbouring frontline states.
- Costs of the Bantustan policy
- High government expenditure and the drought
- The fall in the gold price and in the foreign exchange value of the South African Rand, as well as the foreign debt.

Oil is the only strategic raw material which is not found in exploitable quantities in South Africa, yet it is vital for the South African war-economy. South Africa claims that its Sasol oil-from-coal plants can meet the country's needs to a large extent, yet this source of energy (whose production costs are exorbitant) can only provide for at least 30 per cent — and possibly as little as 22 per cent of the country's needs. Until the end of the decade South Africa will have to import about 70 per cent of its oil needs. The South African police and military are highly dependent on secret oil supplies, the exact amount of which is kept secret.

Although France does supply South Africa directly with oil — French oil companies and technicians play a crucial role in providing the country's needs—the role played by the French TOTAL Oil Company, along with SHELL, MOBIL and BP is crucial. They not only provide the know-how for the budding energy industries in South Africa, but also act as a shield in the twilight world of sanctions-busting.

The French Anti-apartheid Movement AAM is stepping up its ongoing campaign for the isolation of South Africa. Its next target is the French TOTAL Oil Company, whose South African subsidiary contributes to the South African Government's total strategy towards self-sufficiency in energy. The French AAM dismisses the position taken by TOTAL's parent company in France that it is not responsible for the activities of its affiliate. The AAM asks: "How can we believe in the company's good faith when we know that TOTAL continues to violate, since a long time, decree no. 1, of the United Nations Council for Namibia, by exploiting the world's largest open cast uranium mine," which is found in Namibia?

The French AAM is launching a

campaign for boycotting TOTAL products in France, starting in October. The AAM accuses TOTAL of maintaining various activities in South Africa: from refining of petroleum products to the prospecting of new energy resources of replacements. The company's scientists and its vast technological experience in petroleum and oil substances have been of crucial importance in Pretoria's search for oil and gas in the past few years. Last year the South African government announced the discovery of off-shore gas reserves near Mossel Bay, in the South coast. The government-backed Southern Oil Exploration Company (SOEKOR) announced in July that the Mossel Bay gas reserves could last well beyond the originally estimated 30 years. The project is estimated at 1.4 billion dollars.

What also infuriates the French AAM and anti-racist groups like the Movement Against Racism and for the Friendship Among People (MRAP) is the lukewarm attitude adopted by the present government when it comes to the question of sanctions. Jacques Chirac, the prime minister, although not opposing the European Economic Community's sanctions, is not altogether enthusiastic. On September 11, the newly-appointed French Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Bernard Bosson, told the European Parliament in Strasbourg that France was not prepared to support the EEC sanctions "unless there is unanimous support" from the 12 members of the community. "This is playing it fine... knowing as we do that Britain and West Germany, and possibly Portugal, are against sanctions," boasted the French minister.

**A** French right-wing newspaper, *Le Quotidien de Paris*, revealed in November last year that the government-controlled Aerospatiale Company was sending highly specialised technicians to South Africa to work on developing a South African combat helicopter. This "transfer of grey matter" is being undertaken in secrecy. The newspaper's complaint was that the French were helping to install structures which will permit South Africa to produce combat helicopters — "without the commercial interests of this operation being quite obvious." At the time, of course, the Prime Minister was socialist



Laurent Fabius. It is not clear whether those technicians are still in South Africa.

Is it French participation that made it possible for South Africa to proudly unveil its new combat helicopter — The ALPHA XH-1, on March 8? This was followed in July by the unveiling of yet another combat aircraft, the "CHEETAH" fighter-jet, an advanced model based on the French MIRAGE 111 and the Israel KFIR. Prime Minister P. W. Botha said at the unveiling that this was a proof that South Africa could withstand any sanctions the world might wish to impose on his country — and beat them.

With whose help?

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GM'S IMPORTANCE TO EASTERN CAPE REGION EXAMINED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 20 Oct 86 p 11

[Article by Chris Moerdyk]

[Text]

Port Elizabeth, once the "Detroit of South Africa", is again holding its breath — this time about fears of a pull-out by motor-industry patriarch General Motors (GM).

For some time now GM South Africa (GMSA) has been looking for a local partner to give it access to the local capital market and to ensure continuation should its American parent decide to give up on its 60-year-old South African offspring.

So far it hasn't managed to find anyone willing to sink millions of rands into the risky business of building motor vehicles.

The effect of abandoning this roughly half a billion rand investment would be nothing short of catastrophic for the already struggling Eastern Cape.

Mr Brian Matthew, executive director of the Midland Chamber of Industries, is quite emphatic about the consequences of a GM pull-out. It would simply mean disaster, he says.

"Even though GM and Volkswagen are the only two motor manufacturers left down here, the motor vehicle industry, with all its ancilliary suppliers, is still driving the economy.

"At the moment black unemployment is over 50 percent and I don't know how much more we can absorb," he said.

"We have certainly had our share of violence here and to be realistic, there is no doubt that this has been caused by economic factors. In the days when car sales were booming, people down here saw their future getting brighter — then suddenly they were dumped."

The disappearance of GM from the scene will also have far-reaching social ramifications. The company has been one of the front-runners in applying the Sullivan Code and was a founder member of the recently-formed US Corporate Council on South Africa which is directed toward the abolition of apartheid.

GM has an equal-opportunity, equal-facility programme that really works and it is involved in graduate in-training programmes, the Adopt-a-school project and pays for books and school fees for children of black employees. In 1973 the company made a loan to the Port Elizabeth City Council of \$500 000 for the construction of homes in the coloured residential area.

In the industry itself, GMSA has been described as the "weakling" with declining sales and a market share of about seven percent. The point is, however, that this weakling has managed to make it through the bad times when others have withdrawn.

Only three years ago 11 of the original 20 car manufacturers present in the early 1970s still remained. Now there are seven and GM is one of them.

This seems to suggest that the company has staying power and with the imminent launch of a new model, the Monza, it should be able to weather the current storm on purely economic grounds.

Although Port Elizabeth would bear the brunt of a GMSA shutdown, a ripple effect would be felt throughout South Africa. The company has a 200-strong dealer network and the shock to these would be considerable.

## **First-hand knowledge**

In the past few days GM's largest dealer has advertised on television and in newspapers, refuting rumours of a pull-out, claiming GM is contracted to supply vehicles for another five years and offering to buy back GM cars should the company withdraw.

Those in the motor trade with first-hand knowledge of the way motor giants think, say current rumours amount to nothing but sensationalism. When GM chairman Roger Smith said in Detroit a few days ago that his company was "reassessing" its future in South Africa, this apparently did not mean a pull-out was on the cards, but was simply ongoing company policy.

However, there is more to what Mr Smith is saying than simple routine reassessment. He has long been in the forefront of championing the fight against disinvestment. He has made sure his company has done everything possible to promote change. He has bowed to pressure and seen GMSA having to stop selling vehicles to the SAP and SADF, which must have taken a sizeable chunk out

of the company's turnover.

But what he hasn't seen is any significant political change.

In the 1986 General Motors Public Interest Report published in the US earlier this year, he claimed that not being able to supply the SAP and SADF was increasing pressure on an already-struggling South African subsidiary.

"Any further deterioration from currently depressed sales levels may make it impossible for GM to continue its operations in South Africa."

In any language, that is plain talking, and of course, the man-in-the-street doesn't understand the meaning of reassessments. He tends to smell smoke, imagine fire and buy elsewhere.

## **'At a loss'**

The motor industry and GM itself have shown frustration and even anger at reports of a possible GM withdrawal. They suggest "sensation-seeking" by

the media.

In May this year GMSA managing director Bob White said he was at a "loss as to what he could say or do to convince the Press and the public that GM intends to remain in South Africa."

Perhaps he should tactfully suggest that his chairman in Detroit stops making what have become fairly routine statements about being "discouraged" at the South African political and economic situation and saying quite openly that if things get worse for GMSA it simply won't continue.

More than 3 500 employees would join the unemployed in Port Elizabeth.

The dealer network would be rocked quite considerably although this blow would be cushioned by the fact that someone would still have to provide maintenance and services for the many thousands of GM products on the road.

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## INFLATION RATE TAKES PERCENTAGE POINT JUMP

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 21 Oct 86 p 5

[Article by Daan de Kock]

[Text]

THE South-African year-on-year inflation rate jumped sharply by one percentage point to 19,7 percent at the end of September from the previous month's 18,7 percent and 18,2 percent in July.

Adam Jacobs, economist at Volkskas, said last night the sharp increase in the inflation rate is mainly due to a further increase in the price of food products and imported inflation.

Mr Jacobs pointed out that the average inflation rate for the first nine months of the year now comes to 18,6 percent. With only three months to go, it is very unlikely that the average rate could be less than 18,5 percent.

Figures released by the Central Statistics Office in Pretoria show a monthly gain of 1,9 percent in the all-items index to 236,7 in Sep-

tember after a 1,5 percent rise to 232,2 in August (1980 = 100).

A year ago the index stood at 197,8 and the year-on-year inflation rate at 16,6 percent.

The food-only index rose to 233,7 in September from 230,0 in August and 191,1 in September last year. This gives a monthly gain of 1,6 percent. One of the reasons for this sharp increase is the rise in the prices of meat and vegetables.

The year-on-year increase for food only came to 22,3 percent.

The increase for the lower income group was 1,8 percent for the month and 19,8 percent on a year-on-year basis. The rise for the middle income group came to 1,8 percent and 20,1 percent respectively and that for the higher income group to 2 percent and 19,4 percent respectively.

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'DRASTIC' DECLINE IN LUXURY IMPORTS REPORTED

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 22 Oct 86 p 9

[Article by Mick Collins]

[Text]

A POOR exchange rate coupled with crushing import duties are making SA stop and think before splurging on luxury imports.

A snap survey by *Business Day* indicates a drastic two-year falloff in chic sports cars, French, Italian and German wines and Persian carpets. Imported confectionery and cigarette sales have also been hit.

"The money is still there, but people appear a bit nervous about spending it," says Christoph Kopke, MD of Lindsay Saker Porsche. "Turnover is nowhere near the level of two years ago."

Most dealers say turnover levels are running at 15% to 20% of what they were two years ago.

GM of TAK, Robert Scheimann, whose company is the agent for Lancia and Ferrari, says business is not what it used to be. "Prices have gone through the ceiling because of the poor exchange rate.

"We have been lucky in that there has been a shift away from imported sports cars towards the executive-type vehicle. We recently introduced the Lancia Thema and, as with any new vehicle, there is always interest."

Liquor consultant Michael Fridj-

hon says there has been a vast falloff in wine imports, with trade levels running at about 15% of what they were two years ago.

"This is especially noticeable in the lower price ranges. Where these wines were able to compete on the local market, this is no longer the case.

"People who paid R4 a bottle two years ago are not willing to pay between R7 and R8 now."

The upper end of the market where consumers paid R50 a bottle two years ago is still surviving, but only just. "Volumes are so small I don't know anybody who is still making money importing wine.

"Large retailers still import, but they do so to extend product range and can afford to sit with stock."

Nat Lipman of Persian carpet dealers Victor Lidchi says there has been a definite falloff in sales.

"There has been a drop throughout the oriental market. Other than antiques which have been validated by the British Antique Dealers' Association, a 30% import charge plus a 10% surcharge is applicable."

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WINE PRODUCERS INCOME EXPECTED TO INCREASE DESPITE SMALLER CROP

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 22 Oct 86 p 9

[Article by Chris Cairncross]

[Text]

TOTAL income of SA's wine producers is expected to approach R300m this year compared with last year's R258m, says KWV chairman Pietman Hugo.

This is despite the 1986 crop being about 8,5% smaller.

Hugo says the KWV is optimistic its profits will at least match last year's R20,7m. This means the April 1987 pay-out to producers in the distilling wine pool will equal this year's R10m bonus.

A further supplementary pay-out on the 1986 distilling pool is also likely during January.

Hugo says the smaller crop has resulted in a shift in income distribution between the various wine districts, with earnings expected to be considerably higher for producers in the Robertson, Orange River, Olifants River, Montagu and Worcester areas.

Less successful districts are Malmesbury, Paarl and Stellenbosch, where income declines will be 10,5%, 4,4% and 4,2% respectively.

Although the industry's earnings are up generally, farmers remain concerned at the poor level of demand from SA consumers.

Hugo says: "The market is stagnating and, to make it worse for

producers, input costs are rising rapidly."

The demand for natural wine has shown no increase for some time, and even flavoured wine, which has enjoyed rapid market growth over several years, suffered a decline in 1986 sales.

Only the sparkling wine market has shown any signs of strengthening, with marginal growth also reflected in the fortified and brandy markets.

Hugo stresses combined efforts of the entire wine industry are necessary to stimulate and expand the domestic market.

He says: "It is the only solution to the industry's problems."

The weakness in the market place has prevented farmers from making price adjustments to compensate, in part, for the high and escalating costs of farm inputs, which were indexed at about 23% this year.

The result is a continued erosion of profit margins, with the industry earning a net return on capital of between 6% to 7%, compared with last year's 11%.

Hugo says strong appeals have been made to the KWV to improve producer prices at all the district conferences held over the past two weeks to discuss the industry's affairs.

He indicates the KWV intends to respond sympathetically, but declines to elaborate on any possible price adjustments.

After careful evaluation over the past year, several changes are to be made to the wine-of-origin system, which has been in operation for about 13 years.

Some of these changes are likely to involve the restructuring of the Wine and Spirits Board, decentralising many of its functions to regional committees that will be given the freedom to act more autonomously.

The aim, too, is to introduce more flexibility into the regulations governing judging and marketing of wines.

## FISHING INDUSTRY TO BE TOLD OF CONTROLS

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 23 Oct 86 p 9

[Article by Chris Cairncross]

[Text]

SA'S multi-million-rand fishing industry is to hear tomorrow what controls government intends to exercise over its activities and how quotas are to be allocated for 1987 and future years.

The report and recommendations of the Diemont Commission — appointed to review the entire basis on which fishing quotas are issued — are to be released by Environmental Affairs Minister John Wiley, say government sources.

The report, submitted to government in June, will be accompanied by the Cabinet's response in the form of a White Paper.

Fishing companies hope for good news.

Expectations are that the method of issuing quotas will in future be restructured to ensure enhanced industry confidence and costly investments in ships and processing facilities are offered greater levels of security.

The industry has been campaigning for such quota management assurances for years.

The industry stresses they are a prerequisite to encourage the continued significant long-term capital investments essential to ensuring an efficient fishing sector.

### Uncertainty

The release of the report comes none too soon.

Fishing companies are approaching the 1987 season facing considerable uncertainty, which is arousing some concern over the near-term prospects for the sector.

It is hoped the industry's fortunes are at last recovering — with the country's fish resources much im-

proved, the catch per unit substantially up on previous years, and fishing companies reporting satisfactory profit growth.

Major clouds on the horizon are the introduction of limited sanctions by the European Community and the US.

The industry's gross earnings at wholesale level this year are estimated to be almost R470m.

Exports accounted for more than a third of this total.

Fishing company executives are now feverishly attempting to assess which overseas markets have definitely been closed to SA's fish products, what alternative markets can be found, and what the ultimate impact could be on export earnings.

The rock lobster fishery is one facet of the industry expected to feel the impact of the US sanctions package most severely.

The wholesale value of the 1986 catch amounted to about R70m, of which exports contributed between 85% and 90%.

The US market takes the bulk of these lobster exports, exclusively in the form of frozen tails.

Japan is the next biggest market, showing greater preference for whole cooked fish and live ones.

An industry executive, recently back from a visit to the US, said: "The US is now definitely closed to us."

Japan is still open but it could follow the US's example.

Industry representatives are taking no chances, and many are now overseas looking for new markets.

The rock lobster fishery doesn't have much time to find a way around

the trade blockade.

The 1986/7 fishing season opens next month, with the industry granted a total quota of 3 950 tons, up 145 tons on the previous season as a result of an improvement in West Coast resources.

The allocation of quotas for Namibian waters is also causing concern.

Fishing rights for SA-owned companies expired last year after 25 years, and were renewed temporarily for 1986.

This year the fishing rights have been the subject of heated dispute, with the Namibian fishing industry demanding a drastic re-distribution of concessions, giving local companies 80% of all quotas and SA companies a mere 20%.

### No indication

The territory's transitional administration has given no indication as to which way its decisions will go, with those SA companies traditionally fishing those waters complaining they are being kept in the dark intentionally.

The only communication they have had is a warning that Monday is the absolute deadline for submitting an application for a quota.

No information has been provided as to what concessions are available, or for how long they will be granted.

One industry executive said: "It is leaving matters to very late in the day."

It is also giving cause for serious concern, for large investments in ship and shore facilities have been placed on the line.

PEOPLE CALL FOR FEWER, CHEAPER CAR MODELS

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 22 Oct 86 p 2

[Article by Mick Collins]

[Text]

THE proliferation of models in the heavily overtraded new vehicle market has prompted consumers to vote for a reduction in the number of models available.

A Markinor Gallup poll, carried out among 1 000 white adults in the metropolitan centres shows that 85% would rather have a limited choice of less expensive models.

Only 11% opted for a wider choice, even if this made it more difficult for manufacturers to hold down prices.

The number of models currently available in the passenger and commercial sectors is reported to be 100.

The poll was conducted in August, and a high degree of accuracy is claimed.

The chances are 19 out of 20 that if every single adult living in any of the metropolitan areas had been asked the same question, the results of the survey

would have differed from the poll findings by no more than three percentage points.

The question that was asked was: "It has been argued that if SA had fewer car manufacturers, who in turn produced fewer models, the cost of cars would not increase as rapidly as they have. Would you rather have a wide choice of relatively expensive cars, or a limited choice of less expensive cars?"

The limited support for variety as opposed to economy comes from motorists under the age of 25 (18%), from those with a post-matric education (16%) and those with a monthly household income of R3 500 or more (18%).

Women are the more practical sex, with only 8% preferring a wide choice, while men at 14% showed more flamboyant tastes.

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SOUTH AFRICA

BRIERS

FOOD EXPORT MARKET LIES NORTH--SA's greatest potential food export market was Africa, Deputy Minister of Agriculture G. Kotze said this week. Kotze was guest speaker at the opening of the R8m Phesantekraal mushroom farm near Durbanville, Cape Town, on Tuesday. He referred to a recent United Nations report that warned that Africa's agricultural sector was in such a poor state that, unless agricultural efforts were improved, famine would be more severe in the future. The problems were the result of neglect rather than drought conditions. Kotze said: "Our export market lies to the north, as the rest of the African continent will need to take all the food it can get."  
[Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 23 Oct 86 p 5] /9274

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END